K. M. Singh

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MANIPUR AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING STATES

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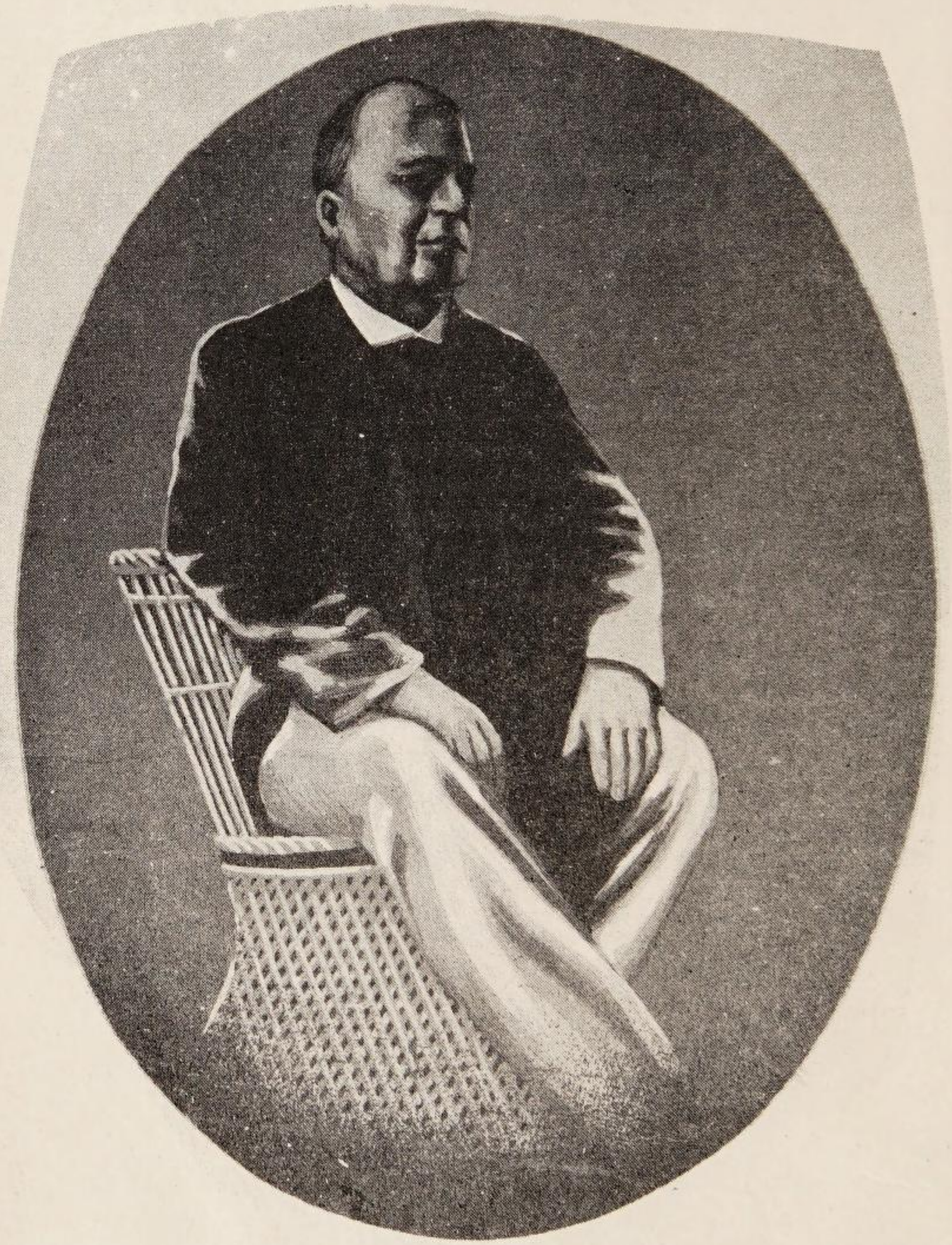

Rev. William Pettigrew

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MANIPUR AND NEIGHBOURING STATES

K. M. SINGH

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Foreword

The idea of writing the present volume took practical shape, when I was incessantly provoked by a wrong notion accepted among the educated class of Manipuris as well as the hill people of the State that William Pettigrew, an American Baptist missionary wrote the first Manipuri dictionary. This notion has not so far been corrected by the scholars among whom one or two have in their possession the second edition of the Manipuri dictionary.

William Pettigrew arrived in Manipur in 1894, but the first edition of the dictionary had been printed in 1837 by Captain George L. Gordon, the first Political Agent of Manipur, who died and was buried at Langthabal in 1844. The second edition of the book was printed in 1896, two years after the arrival of the missionary, and it was, of course, revised and edited by B. K. Bhattacharya and William Pettigrew for the Bengali and Manipuri portions respectively.

As a student of literature and language, I made inquiries about the facts without obtaining any clues; and hence I started investigation on the long forgotton works of this unknown missionary and his periodic sojourn in Manipur. This painstaking research revealed to me many censored letters and motheaten pages from confidential records.

Another point which led me to the writing of the present volume is that, although I am not a Christian by religion, most of the Christians in the valley as well as the hill areas of Manipur do not have the faintest idea about the first missionary who had ventured, struggled and faced irksome situations to save life as well as to bring a few graces of western civilisation to this alien corner. Some recollections without proper historical evidence have been shaped in a book form by one of this missionary's first converts. But Mr. T. Luikham has distorted the historical perspective on the

missionary's odessey among the savage tribes. The present volume which is based on existing letters, documents and official correspondence available here and there is an attempt to restore the perspective.

Apart from a religious interest the valley people of Manipur still remember him as a great educationist who had caressed the cheeks of the wild children, consoled them with attractive articles and led them to their parents after a hard day's learning in his 'noisy mansion'. His long labour through time, money and love could not bring a formal recognition from his own disciples but he succeeded in his own way in planting the three R's which have now become part of our heritage.

I have not attempted to portray a biography of the man, but simply tried to trace back his indelible footprints among the nobles, savages and fellow workers. He was the man whom the savages loved and rejected. It was a moment of success for the man when he was turned out of the country by his own people but his moral victory remained impressed on the minds of the wild savages who called him back desperately. The cry has been over but the memory of the man and his dedication still lingers in our hearts.

I must mention with gratitude the names of a few friends. Mr. S. Rohini Kumar Singh, Record Keeper-cum-Librarian of the Manipur Secretariat (Old) has very kindly permitted my extensive use of unpublished materials from the Record Room of the Manipur Secretariat. A special debt of thanks is also owed to Mr. R. K. Joysana Singh and Mr. L. Gune Singh for their kindness in making available to me many of the manuscripts, notebooks, personal diaries of the Political Agents in Manipur and other official correspondence still lying unkept in the Record Room of the Manipur Secretariat.

Many friends and colleagues have aided my work in various ways. Some of my debts are acknowledged in the course of the following chapters. Among my friends who have been generous with helpful suggestions regarding access to sources, as also with encouragement, I must mention the late Mr. R. K. Surendrajit Singh, Mr. S. Angoumacha Singh, Dr. R. K. Nimai Singh (M.C.S.), Mr. Y. K. Shimray and Dr. K. B. Singh.

Students in my college have been a captive but by no means compliant helpmates for the trying out of some of the translations made from an original Tangkhul book. Among them I wish to mention Miss Reeta Luikham, Miss Kimcha Lunkim and Mr. Awoming Luikham.

I am grateful for helpful courtesies to the staffs of the libraries during my research, particularly to Mr. H. Devendra Singh, Librarian of the State Central Library, Manipur; to Mr. B. Premananda Sharma of the D. M. College of Science Library; to Mr. L. Gourakishore Singh of the Thoubal College Library; and to Mr. Sunil Kumar Chatterjee, in-charge of the Carey Library & Carey Museum, Seprampore College, West Bengal.

I received every possible assistance from the following who have kindly supplied me photostat copies of relevant papers for the present volume. Miss Catherine Pickett and Mrs. P. Biswas of the India Office Library and Records, London; Jane Partington of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Mr. G. W. Shaw of the British Library, London; Christopher J. Spring of the Museum of Mankind Library, London and Miss Kathleen Cann of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, have all generously encouraged me to complete my work. Without their help and steady supply of photostat copies the present book would have remained incomplete.

Last but not the least, I owe a special debt to my wife who constantly urged me to complete the book.

KARAM MANIMOHAN SINGH

ONE

Historical Background

A history of the Christian Missions in Manipur would be incomplete without a picture of the political and social conditions of the State towards the close of the nineteenth century. Because it was under the influence of the political authorities that the Christian missionaries who came to Manipur were permitted and driven out; sometimes considered favourably by the political authorities of the State and at other times expelled out of the State by the Maharaja of Manipur. The missionaries who came to preach and spread Christianity had to struggle hard with the administrators, rulers and monarchs of the State. Although disheartened and defeated through a series of unfavourable orders from the Maharaja who prevented their approach towards a higher step of civilisation, the missionaries were indefatigable and with slow advancement they planted their milestones with clear marks of human endeavour and dedication. The word 'Secular' was non-existent, and the vassals of the Maharaja were imposed without a more particular order to follow the whims of the Chief. The so-called three important Department—the Manipur State Darbar, the Political Agent and the Maharaja—were on the top of the administration. No European could enter the State without obtaining permission of the Darbar through the Political Agent. The Maharaja also very wisely did his utmost to discourage such visitors unless they were friends of the Political Agent. In the midst of all these restrictions the Christian missionaries came from a great distance of the country. Major General Sir James Johnstone who had been the Political Agent of Manipur for some nine years made a remark on the suspicious nature of the Manipuris towards foreigners:

> The presence of one or two Europeans constantly moving about would no doubt in itself be a source of annoyance to the high officials of

> Manipur, who would always suspect them of making enquiries with a view to an unfavourable report to Government. All natives of India are suspicious, and this remark applies with tenfold force to Manipuris.[1]

Except on some occasions when the Maharaja of Manipur had vetoed his power over the Darbar all personal contacts and correspondences were made through the office of the Political Agent who was always a British. Had the missionaries made contacts with the Maharaja before they approached the British officer they would never have had any chance of footing even in the whole Manipur territory. The Political Agency in Manipur was from 1836 put under the direct control of the Government of India. But when the Assam Chief Commissionership was formed, the Political Agent of Manipur was ordered to forward all his letters through the Chief Commissioner under flying seal, and he and other officers of Manipur were placed entirely under the control of the Assam Chief Commissioner.

A brief historical background would indicate why the Christian missionaries were not permitted to enter Manipur before 1894, the year in which the first missionary Rev. William Pettigrew set his foot on the soil. When Maharaja Chandra Kirti Singh died in May 1886, he was succeeded by his eldest son Sur Chandra Singh. He was a good, amiable man with plenty of ability, but a very weak character. He was loyal to the British Government and had on several occasions given strong proof of it. He was much respected by his own people.

Maharaja Chandra Kirti had twelve wives and eleven sons. Out of enmity from different reasons all the princes were grouped into two factions. Sur Chandra, Paka Sana, Thambou Sana and Gopal Sana formed one group; and Kulachandra, Tikendrajit, Angou Sana and Jill Ngamba formed the second group. During the year 1890-91 Manipur was made the scene of much anarchy out of this enmity between the two groups of brothers. The peace of the State was frequently disturbed by the quarrels among brothers and the family was at last broken up. On one side were the Maharaja's three uterine brothers headed by Paka Sana; and on the other, under the leadership of his half-brother Senapati Tikendrajit. Maharaja Sur Chandra was unable to assert

his authority over these two turbulent groups, and matters reached a climax on 21st September 1890.

The palace walls were suddenly surrounded and a few shots in the air were sufficient to drive out the timid Maharaja Sur Chandra who took safety at the residency of the Political Agent. The next day Maharaja Sur Chandra proclaimed his intention to abdicate and to proceed on a pilgrimage to Brindaban. On 23rd September 1890 he left Manipur accompained by his three brothers and a few followers and arrived at Cachar by the end of the month. At Cachar Maharaja Sur Chandra changed his tone, and represented to the Chief Commissioner that he had no intention to abdicate and thereby solicited assistance to regain the throne of Manipur. Meanwhile Senapati Tikendrajit had induced his elder brother Jubraj Kula Chandra to occupy the throne, and an application was made to the Government of India to ratify this accession. After a due consideration the Government of India concluded that it would be to the advantage of the Manipur State to recognise the Jubraj in his new position rather than to restore Maharaja Sur Chandra again. But it was decided to remove Senapati Tikendrajit from Manipur for his lawless conduct towards his eldest brother.

The Chief Commissioner of Assam was directed to visit Manipur and carry out the orders of the Government of India. Accordingly, Mr. Quinton the Chief Commissioner, came towards Manipur with an escort of 400 men of the Assam Gurkha Battalions under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Skene of the 42nd Regiment. This force, with the Political Agent's escort at Manipur and the support of 200 men *en route* from Silchar, was considered sufficient to over-awe the malcontents and quell any possible resistance.

On arrival at Manipur the Chief Commissioner announced that a Darbar would be held in the residency the same day. But Senapati Tikendrajit did not attend the Darbar on the plea of ill-health and thus the meeting was postponed until next morning, when again he failed to appear. At an interview with the Raja, the Political Agent was informed that the Raja was unable to enforce his brother's arrest. An ultimatum was sent to the palace to the effect that

if Senapati Tikendrajit was not given up without more ado steps would be taken to have him seized by force. The Political Agent also spent some hours in consultation with the Raja, and endeavoured to induce him to comply with the demands of the Government, but without effect.

All the political negotiations having failed, the Chief Commissioner decided to capture Senapati Tikendrajit in his house which was surrounded on the morning of the 24th March 1891. A serious engagement ensued and the Manipuris attacked the residency which was held till 8 p.m. When an armistice was arranged, Mr. Quinton and four other officers (Lieutenant-Colonel C. McD. Skene, Political Agent Mr. F. St. C. Grimwood, Private Secretary Mr. W. H. Cossins and Lieutenant W. H. Simpson) who accompanied the Chief Commissioner under a flag of truce from the residency to the palace, were cruelly and treacherously murdered.

An expedition was ordered to Manipur to re-assert the political supremacy of the British Government. The force marched in three columns from Kohima, Silchar and Tammu all of which reached the capital on 27th April 1891. The Union Jack was hoisted over the capital and Brigadier-General H. Collet who commanded the army of occupation had encamped in the palace and the whole State was governed by him until 13th September 1891.

Within a month all were captured and those principally responsible for the murder of the British officers were placed upon their trial. Kula Chandra, the acting Raja, Senapati Tikendrajit and Angou Sana the third brother were brought before a special Commission which sentenced Senapati Tikendrajit to death and the other two to transportation for life. Thangal General, one of the most influential persons in the State, Niranjan Subedar, an ex-sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry and Kajao Manipuri, the actual murderer of Mr. Grimwood, were all sentenced to death. The execution of these rebels was confirmed through a telegram from the Government of India to Brigadier-General H. Collet:

> Government of India consider that the Senapati Tikendrajit Singh was properly convicted of waging war against the Queen and of abatment of murder. Government of India confirm the sentence of the Court which should be carried out into execution.[2]

Another order also came from Simla on the same day confirming the execution of Thangal General. The Chief Political Officer of Manipur made a proclamation both in English and Manipuri version in favour of the conviction of the second order from the Government of India:

> Before the Court of the Chief Political Officer, Tangal Singh alias Tangal General of Manipur was tried and convicted of waging war against the Queen Empress of India and the murder of British officers and was sentenced to be hanged which sentence has been confirmed by the Government of India and will be duly carried out.[3]

The rebels were sentenced to death and hanged at the Imphal Polo Ground on 13th August 1891. This momentous event of the rebels on the gallows was described by a British officer in the following:

> As far as the eye could see the plain was white with women. In the Raja's days as criminal sentenced to death was occasionally reprieved if a sufficient number of women appeared to intercede for him, and, hoping that possibly the old custom might still prevail the women had assembled in their thousands. As the drop fell and the Senapati and Tankul General was launched into eternity, a deep groan went up from the assembled throng.[4]

In September 1891 the question of the future of the Manipur State was decided by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India declared that the Manipur State was forfeit to the Crown, but decided in their clemency to re-grant it to a scion of a junior branch. Their choice fell upon Chura Chand Singh, a minor, who was selected as Raja and granted a salute of eleven guns. On 18th September 1891, a *Sanad* was issued in favour of the selection of the new Chief in Manipur:

> The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to select you, Chura Chand, son of Chowbi Yaima, to be Chief of the Manipur State; and you are hereby granted the title of Raja of Manipur, and a salute of eleven guns.
>
> The Chiefship of the Manipur State and the title and salute will be hereditary in your family; and will descent in the direct line by primogeniture, provided that in each case the succession is approved by the Government of India.
>
> An annual tribute, the amount of which will be determined hereafter will be paid by you and your successors to the British Government.
>
> Further you are informed that the permanence of the grant conveyed by this *Sanad* will depend upon the ready fulfilment by you and your successors of all orders given by the British Government with regard to the administration of your territories, the control of the hill tribes

> dependent upon Manipur, the composition of the armed forces of the State, and any other matters in which the British Government may be pleased to intervene. Be assured that so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of this *Sanad*, you and your successors will enjoy the favour and protection of the British Government.[5]

As Chura Chand Singh at the time was a boy of five years only, the Government of India ordered that the Political Agent should administer the State till Chura Chand Singh reached his majority. Major H. St. P. Maxwell was appointed Political Agent and Superintendent of the State by a telegram on 13th September 1891. The selection of a collateral branch for the Chiefship of Manipur came like bombshell to everyone, and, further, the choice falling on the youngest of five brothers belonging to a family whose circumstances and surroundings were of the humblest, made matters still less explainable. Major Maxwell in the *Administration Report* of the year 1891-1892 made the following remarks:

> The people have now realised that the minor Raja's right to the succession rests solely on his selection by the Government of India and have loyally accepted the decision, and I doubt whether any attempt, even in the distant future, will be made by disappointed partisans to alter the succession.[6]

The *Sanad* granted to the new Chief provided for the complete subordination of the Manipur State; and the payment of a yearly tribute was fixed in 1892 at Rs. 50,000. The tribute was made payable from 21st August 1891. For the treacherous attack on the British Officers a fine of Rs. 2,50,000 was imposed in 1892, and the sum was to be paid off in five yearly instalments. The Political Agent was given full power to introduce any reforms that he considered beneficial, but with instructions 'to pay due regard to the customs and traditions of the Manipuris, and to interfere as little as possible with existing institutions'. On 29th September 1892 the investiture of the Raja was carried out.

During the minority of Raja Chura Chand Singh, the Political Agent administered the State on his behalf as Superintendent of the State till the Government machinery was made over to the Raja and the Darbar on 15th May 1907. During this short span many reforms were introduced, and when a complete establishment was set up the Political Agent turned over the charge to the Raja of Manipur. It was

apparently evident that the first intention of the Government was to keep the rightful Chief outside the State in the name of education for the minor Raja and in his absence the rules for the management of the State with slight advantage on the Government's side, had to be framed. This policy happened in other States also where the British Government had appointed minor Rajas after their overtaking the States.

When the minor Raja was out of the State for his education at Ajmer, the first reformation brought into the State by the Government was in the administration of justice. It was decided to maintain, as far as possible, the old Manipuri Courts. The Cherap Court, which had always been the highest Court in the State, but below the Darbar, was maintained. Other new Courts which were subordinates to the Cherap called the Town Panchayet and Rural Panchayel were formed.

A Rural Police was formed by appointing one Chowkidar for every 100 houses. In 1892-93 a Military Police Battalion was raised with Mr. Crawford who was then an Assistant to the Political Agent of Manipur as its Commandant. Another Civil Police was raised next year.

There was no proper mail service in Manipur within the State. It generally took a number of days to convey a news to a neighbouring country or a nearby village. Men on horse-back or on foot had to run as emissaries. When the control of the State was assumed by Government a daily mail service by runners to Silchar and Kohima was opened. Another weekly despatch to Tammu was also opened. Besides the Imphal Post Office which was maintained by the Postal Department, there were branch Post Offices at Moirang, Mao, Kanglatombi and Mantripukhri. Postal service in the hill areas of Manipur, say Ukhrul where Pettigrew had established his headquarters for his missionary activities, was out of the question during the time.

One of the important reformations introduced by the Government into Manipur was the establishment of a medical dispensary which provided medicines and medical attendance for its subjects. The Christian missionaries were granted lands to settle within the Manipur State because the Raja wanted to facilitate the hill and the valley population of

Manipur through the medical aids of the Christian missionaries. But prior to 1891, the State made no pretence at providing medical attendance for its subjects. There was only one small hospital attached to the residency and outpatients of all classes received treatment there. Unfortunately this hospital was destroyed in the rebellion of 1891. Necessary buildings for a State Dispensary were immediately commenced and were opened on 1st September 1892.

In the older Manipuri traditions all public works were carried out by *Laloop*. Each male between 17 and 60 was supposed to render to the State ten days' labour out of every forty. B. C. Allen once made a remark on the *Laloop* system of Manipur:

> The people seem to have been divided into different guilds, to each of which was allotted the duty of providing some particular article of use or luxury required by the Raja and his numerous retinue. Some, for instance, would build the roads and bridges; to others would be assigned the various crafts, the manufacture of brass or bell-metal utensils, of jewellery, or a leather work. Others again would be deputed to the personal service of the Raja and his followers.[7]

As soon as the State came direct under the British management, the system of *Laloop* was abolished. When Major Maxwell assumed charge of the State he had to be an administrator, law-giver, justice dispenser and an engineer. In other words, he was an *ad hoc* ruler of the Manipur State on behalf of the minor Raja. Till 1903, there was no regular establishment for the construction of public works, for in that year a State Engineer with a separate office and staff was sanctioned. One of the principal works carried out since 1891, was the construction of a first class Dak bungalow in the capital. It was here that many of the Europeans visiting Manipur had to stay comfortably, and Pettigrew also lived for some time before he had permanently settled among the Tangkhuls at Ukhrul.

The bazars were a great feature of the Manipuri life. When Pettigrew first arrived in Manipur in 1894, there was a daily bazar held in front of the Pat where he tried to preach the Gospel among the Manipuris. Conditions of the bazar were greatly improved within a short time. When the Sadar Bazar became a little overcrowded, another bazar was opened which Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear named after Colonel Maxwell.

Administrative reforms were also extended to the hill areas of Manipur. In 1894 a paid staff of officials was entertained and the hills were divided into five divisions. For each division a Lum-Subedar was placed with seven Lambus to assist him. In 1906 Shakespear had withdrawn all matters concerning the hills from the State Office and formed a special department with two clerks for their management. Shakespear mentioned in his 'Report' of the year 1907 :

> The system has been very successful. During the last two cold weathers extensive tours have been made through the hills by myself and Mr. Cosgrave, and the result has been most satisfactory and for the time being all is well, but the continuance of the present satisfactory state of affairs depends largely on the amount of personal interest taken by the Vice President with hill people and the amount of time he can devote to touring in the hills.[8]

Shakespear suggested four important points regarding the hill matters, i.e., a constant touring of British officers among the hill areas of Manipur; an extensive employment of hill-men in Government posts and education among the tribes, and lastly to insist on the village Chiefs or headmen being responsible for the management of their villages and thus supporting the authority.

Chura Chand Singh's minority and the rule of Superintendency in Manipur came to an end on May 15th 1907. On this day the charge of the State was handed over to the Raja and his Darbar to be managed in accordance with a 'Set of Rules' sanctioned by the Government of India. The Manipur State Darbar and its formation was granted by the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and it was constituted with His Highness Raja Chura Chand Singh as the President, W. A. Cosgrave as the Vice President. There were three Ordinary Members, viz., Rajkumar Dumbra Singh, Gokul Singh *(Naharup Lanpa)* and Ibungo Chaoba Singh. Another three Additional Members were—Bindu Madhop Shastri, Ningomban *Yaiskul Lakpa* and Maibam Tamro Singh.[9]

On 4th February 1908 Chura Chand Singh was formally installed on the gaddi by Sir Lancelot Hare, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Darbar and the administration of the whole State was controlled by the 'Set of Rules', known as the Rules for the Management of the

State of Manipur, which was in force till 1947. The Rules were amended from time to time, and since then the administration had been in the hands of the Raja supported by this Darbar, with the Vice President who was a member of the Indian Civil Service and whose services were lent to the State by the Local Government, in addition to the other six nominated Manipuri members. Chura Chand Singh was at first President of the Darbar, but from 1916 he preferred to exercise a merely supervisory control and the Vice President became the President. The control of the various departments of the administration was distributed among His Highness the Raja, the President and four of the members of the Darbar. The President was responsible for all matters concerning revenue and finance. Under orders of the Government of India, the hill tribes dependent on the Manipur State were administered by him on behalf of the Raja, and were not amenable to the ordinary jurisdiction of the Darbar and other Manipuri courts.

In cases where both parties were Manipuris the Darbar was the Supreme Court, assisted in the administration of justice by subrodinate Courts. The Political Agent dealt with all civil and criminal cases in which British subjects were parties, and be also exercised powers similar to those of a Sessions Judge in cases in which the parties were hill-men.

During the reign of Chura Chand Singh Manipuris were sent out of the State for their education with State as assistance to take their place in the various branches of the administration, notably in such professions like--teaching, medical, public works and surveying. In 1913 the *pothang* system, under which each village was obliged to carry the baggage of touring State officials and to maintain roads, school-houses etc., within its boundary, was abolished at the request of the people, and new taxes being imposed, mainly on land, to meet the consequent extra charges on the State revenues. Before the abolition of the *pothang* system public peace had been considerably disturbed by a widespread agitation, extending throughout the Manipuri population against *pothang*. Practically every village in the valley, except the Imphal villages had combined in passive resistance to the system. The consequence was that the admini-

stration of the State, especially in the Land Revenue Department came almost to a standstill. The Political Agent attempted to remove the deadlock by promising to consider the peoples' grievances and he thus framed a scheme for the abolition of *pothang*, but issuing orders that in the meanwhile the system must continue. In one of his 'Supplementary Notes' on the agitation of the *pothang* system in Manipur Mr. R. Friel wrote in 1914:

> The people however remained insubordinate, probably fearing that any sign of weakening on their part might result in the matter being shelved. Detailed proposals for the total abolition of the *pothang* system and the substitution of travelling allowances and grants for road and school repairs have now been framed by the Political Agent with the assistance of a Select Committee of the Darbar, and have been submitted to the Honorable the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who has since accorded his approval to them.[10]

After a prolonged agitation and disturbance in Manipur the *pothang* system was finally abolished in 1913 by a resolution of the Manipur State Darbar.

On the outbreak of war in August, 1914, Chura Chand Singh placed his personal services and the resources of the Manipur State at the disposal of the King Emperor and he loyally supported the Government. He raised 50 men for service with the Assam Military Police, and a double company for active service, which was attached to a regiment of the Indian Army for training, and served in Mesopotamia. The Raja also recruited a Labour Corps of 2,000 hill-men under the command of Colonel H.W.G. Cole for service in France and he offered to raise two others. Unfortunately determined opposition on the part of some of the Kuki tribes among the hill-men to going with the second Manipur Labour Corps to France had developed in December 1917, into open rebellion against the British Government. Most of the Kukis and the Maram tribe had refused to send coolies for the second Manipur Labour Corps. They were convinced that the men of the first Manipur Labour Corps who were reported as having died of sickness were really killed fighting in the war front. J. C. Higgins, Officiating Political Agent of Manipur, in one of his letters to J. E. Webster of the Assam Administration Camp related an experience among the hill tribes of Manipur, when he was recruiting coolies for the second Labour Corps:

I heard that many of the Kuki Chiefs had assembled at a village 20 miles west of here to hold a Council. I at once sent out a Lambu to tell them to meet me and on Friday I started out to meet them. However, I met men with news that they had dispersed two days previously, but that they wished to see me ten days after if I would meet them. I have accordingly sent out word to all the Chiefs to meet me three marches from here on the 9th October (1917). This will give the further villages time to come in. But it is extremely doubtful whether they will supply the men we require.

Today I received better news, to the effect that some 400 men of various tribes, including a few Kukis (not from the disaffected areas) would come in.

The position of a Commanding Officer of the Manipur Labour Draft was put forward as to who would hold the post. There were some alternatives among Cosgrave, Jolly and Higgins. Higgins frankly confessed that he would like to accept the post but it did not seem as though he would have been relieved by the time the Draft went. In the existing circumstances Cosgrave was out of the question. But Jolly had neither the knowledge of the people nor the Manipuri language. Higgins finally suggested the name of Pettigrew to be the most suitable man and fit for the purpose, as because he had a perfect knowledge of the Manipuri language and her people. By this time Pettigrew had already stayed 23 years in Manipur, when the second Manipur Labour Corps was raised.

By the spring of 1919 the opposition of the Kukis was crushed and they began slowly to surrender on all sides. In May operations were brought to a close. A large number of unlicensed guns were withdrawn from the rebel Kukis and communications in the hills were slowly improved. The leaders of the rebellion were deported from the State. It was later decided to strengthen the administration of the hill areas by dividing it into four sub-divisions, one to be directly administered by the President of the Darbar, and the other three through the Sub-Divisional Officers. The distribution of the sub-divisions was as follows:

1. The South West area with headquarters at Churachandpur, which had been named after the Raja of Manipur. This was inhabited by Kuki tribes and was under Mr. Gasper's charge.

2. The North West area with new headquarters at

Tamenglong. This was inhabited mainly by Kukis, Nagas and Kaccha Nagas, and was under the charge of Mr. Shaw.

3. The North East area with headquarters at Ukhrul, which was inhabited by Tangkhul Nagas and Kukis. This was administered by Mr. Peters.

A large area in the North of the State, including the Mao and Maram Naga groups, the whole of the Mombi area in the South East, and the various tribes of hill-men bordering the valley were continued to be administered direct from Imphal under the President of the Darbar.

In consideration of the additional expenses involved, the annual tribute was reduced to Rs. 5,000 for ten years, and the State was no longer asked to contribute towards the maintenance of the cart-road from Imphal to Kohima.

For his valuable services rendered during the great European War, Chura Chand Singh was made a Maharaja, and this title was made hereditary.[11]

After the outbreak of the Kuki rebellion, another important incident occurred in Manipur during 1924-25. It was a struggle of an animistic faith against Christianity. Many of the Nagas who had gone to France and elsewhere to fight for the Allies during the first great European War came back and newly instituted a Naga Club under an official patronage. This Club presented a memorandum to the Simon Commission and pressed for the exclusion of the Naga area from the purview of the proposed reforms and demanded that the Nagas should be left alone to decide their own future wher the British were to quit India. On the other hand, a political-cum-religious movement took place in the Naga Hills, North Cachar and the Mikir Hills in Assam from about 1929 to 1933. This movement called the Haraka cult was a synthesis of animism and partly Hinduism involving human sacrifice which was contemptuous to Christianity. The followers of the cult revolted against the loyal subjects of the British Government and compelled others to convert to it. These anti-Christian Nagas denounced the British Empire.

The genesis of the movement had to be traced from one Haipou Jadonang, a Rongmai Naga of Kambiron village in Tamenglong Sub-Division of Manipur. Jadonang was an

ordinary soldier enlisted in the First World War and posted to Mesopotamia. On his return he began to preach in the early 1925 about a Kingdom of God in which everyone would be treated as equal in human freedom, liberty, rights and duties. He also tried to revive the ancient superstitious beliefs of the Nagas which had been already subdued by the newly introduced doctrines of Christianity in different corners of the Manipur Naga Hills. Jadonang prophesied that a day would come when a 'Naga Raj' would be established and the foreigners expelled from the hills. He assumed himself to be the Messiah King and declared an independent Naga Kingdom in an aggressive, warlike form as that would take the powerful and patriotic way as the only viable alternative to their old and under-developed traditional culture. He proved himself to have ruling mystic qualities by performing magical tricks.[12]

Jadonang won an allegiance of his own people in Manipur State, the Naga Hills, North Cachar and the Mikir Hills and he thus consolidated his kingdom. Soon he began to preach the liberation movement. His cousin, Gaidinliu a Kabui girl was made priestess and sent to the North Cachar Hills where she was warmly received by her own people there. They indulged in kidnapping and murdering the plains people for sacrifice to their God. The activities of Jadonang rose to such a pitch that the Naga Hills Commissioner and the Political Agent of Manipur could no longer ignore and leave him at his will.

After gathering necessary information regarding the whereabouts of Jadonang, in the early part of 1931 the Political Agent of Manipur decided to make a demonstration of force. But Jadonang had already left Manipur and entered Cachar where he was arrested by the Cachar authorities. The Political Agent in the meantime with a force of the Assam Rifles had reached Kambiron via Bishenpur. There he destroyed the temple and idol of the new religion established by Jadonang. The elderly persons of the village were arrested. From there the Political Agent proceeded towards Cachar, where Jadonang was handed over to him by the Cachar authorities.[13]

After the arrest Jadonang was put in the Imphal Jail for more than two months. On 29th August 1931, he was

produced in the open air in the early morning and just before the hang, he was asked of what he wanted to say about him and to his near and dear ones. He replied that he had done no wrong to anybody and whatever he had thought, said and done was for the cause of his people.[14] He was hanged on the same day under order of the Indian Government, on the bank of the Nambul river just behind the Imphal Jail.

But the legacy of struggle did not end with Jadonang. Revolt against the British administration and a spirit to revive the cult of ancient animism against the western Christianity continued under the new leadership of Jadonang's chief disciple Gaidinliu, the Kabui girl. She was then hardly 19 years old and she had not received education beyond class ten from a Mission School. The agitation under Gaidinliu assumed serious proportions as it had taken the form of a semi-religious and semi-martial movement amongst the Kabuis and the Kaccha Nagas. In the early part of 1932 the Government offered Rs. 200 for any information leading to an exact whereabouts of the girl. The reward was subsequently increased to Rs. 500 and the Government declared that any village which could give reliable information leading to her capture would be granted ten years full remission of house rent. It was only in the beginning of 1933 that the Government succeeded in capturing the girl. She was tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life--the causes being that she started a heinous cult quite opposite to Christianity and also Hinduism, and for carrying out a strong insurrection against the British Government.

Things began to take a concrete shape and a steady growth of political consciousness came to the minds of the Manipuri people during the early 1930s. There were no associations, societies, clubs or organisations in Manipur upto the beginning of the third decade. Therefore, in order to fill up this gap and to bring varied advantages to the public, the State authorities of Manipur and other 311 delegates from places like Cachar, Digboi , Tripura, Dacca and Burma had organised the first ever Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha during May 1934. Maharaja Chura Chand Singh was its first President and the opening session of the Mahasabha was conducted on 30th May 1934 at the Palace Raas Mandal.

Originally the Mahasabha was in its inception meant to be a cultural and religious organisation for all the Manipuris living in and outside the State. Maharaja Chura Chand Singh did not hesitate to act as the President of the Mahasabha upto the second session held at Tarapur (Silchar) during January 1936. In this session also more than 400 delegates from different parts of Assam and Mandalay attended the assembly. The third session of the Mahasabha took place at Mandalay during March 1937, but by this time it was already understood that the Mahasabha would certainly claim some political demands from the State authorities. It was on this pretext that the former Vice President (Angom Tomchouba Singh) and Maharaja Chura Chand Singh did not readily join the assembly at Mandalay.

With the opening of the fourth session the political history of Manipur entered a new era. It was an important date also, as because prior to this open session at Chinga, there had been no political organisation in Manipur. The meanings of democracy and social justice to the public were highlighted during the session. A feeling of hatred against the autocratic freedom of the Maharaja and Manipur and the high-handed nature of the British officers were predominantly expressed in the resolutions of the fourth session held on the 30th December 1938 at the Chinga Hill maidan. In one of the resolutions the communal nomenclature of Hindu was dropped. The Mahasabha also demanded the release of all political prisoners in Assam including Miss Gaidinliu the Kabui girl, a combined administration of the hills and the valley areas of Manipur, the establishment of a Legislative Council for the attainment of a representative form of Government in Manipur etc.

The proposal to abolish the Manipur State Darbar and an introduction of electoral system made a great challenge to the State authorities. Maharaja Chura Chand Singh had, therefore, promptly declared that the Mahasabha had become an unlawful body and thus orders were issued on 15th February 1939, banning all the Government servants from being members of the Mahasabha.

During the end of Maharaja Chura Chand Singh's reign, the Second World War broke out in 1938. Next year in

December 1939, there was a substantial amount of agitation arising partly out of economic conditions, and partly out of grievances of other sorts. During the poor harvest of 1939, the Marwari merchants of Manipur had purchased most of the paddy available in the market and exported it to the neighbouring districts of Assam. As a result, the price of paddy shot up alarmingly. There was an unfortunate incident on 12th December 1939, when the President of the Manipur State Darbar (T. A. Sharpe) and other British officers were besieged in the Telegraph Office in the British Reserve by hundreds of bazar women who had in the end to be forcibly moved aside by men of the Assam Rifles. The occasion for this was the economic grievance arising out of a rise in the price of rice due to excessive exports coupled with a genuine fear of a shortage of rice in Manipur, where a shortage meant starvation, because it was impossible to import rice at a price which the Manipuris could pay. The heavy exports in turn were the result of the numerous rice-mills which had sprung up in Manipur. Though the export of rice was stopped and the mills ceased working, the agitation, which was fomented by the Congress elements in Assam persisted for many months in 1940 and gave rise to some anxiety.[15] The Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha threw its full weight behind the women's agitation which had started with the single objective of securing a ban on the export of rice, and ended with a memorandum to the Maharaja of Manipur for a responsible Government.

Maharaja Chura Chand Singh did not survive long after the women's agitation of 1939. In September 1941, His Highness expressed his intention to abdicate, but before the necessary formalities could be completed he died on 6th November 1941, at Nabadwip. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maharaj Kumar Bodh Chandra Singh. Soon after the accession of Bodh Chandra, Manipur became an arena of the Second World War. On 10th May 1942, Imphal was bombed by the Japanese army, and from that time onwards Manipur became one of the principal battle fields for the next few years. The people of Manipur extended co-operation to the British in repelling the Japanese, and in recognition of the services rendered by Mahrarja Bodh Chandra and the

Manipuris during the war time, the annual tribute of Rs. 50,000 payable to the British Government was remitted in perpetuity in 1945 by His Majesty the King Emperor.

With the impeding departure of the British from India, the people of Manipur had intensified their agitation for a full responsible Government in the State. Thus in compliance with the incessant demands of the public a Constitution-Making Committee was formed during January 1947. This Committee had to submit to Maharaja Bodh Chandra a 'Draft Constitution' for the governance of the Manipur State. While the political agitations were seen in every quarter of the State demanding a full responsible Government, the most important event in the political history of the State took place in a 'secret room' on the 1st and 2nd of July 1947, when the Governor of Assam had signed two agreements with Maharaja Bodh Chandra and members of the Manipur State Darbar.

Among the various points of the two Agreements, it was agreed between the Manipur State and the Governor of Assam that an Interim Council would be formed without delay and the members of the Council would be appointed under the newly formed *Manipur State Administration Rules*. The new Constitution drafted by the Constitution-Making Committee would be inaugurated within a period of one year. The above mentioned *Administration Rules* was formally introduced on 1st July 1947, and the term 'Political Agent' was substituted by the term 'Union Agent' from that date. The Manipur State Council also came into existence without any change in the composition of the previous Manipur State Darbar. This Council dragged on with many impediments among the Ministries upto only 13th August 1947, because from the next day their services were terminated and Maharaja Bodh Chandra made an official notification to form another State Council with M.K. Priya Brata, Bashir Uddin, Krishnamohan Singh, R. K. Bhuban Sana and K. Gouro Singh as Ministers.

Events were moving very fast. India was constituted as a Dominion by an Act of the British Parliament of 1947. In Manipur, the former Dominion Agent (Mr. G. P. Stewart) had retired on 17th October 1947, and in his place Debeswar

Sarma took over the charge as Dominion Agent of Manipur. By the middle of May 1948, the Governor of Assam wrote to Maharaja Bodh Chandra about the abolition of the post of Dominion Agency in Manipur. Thus hardly completing eight months in the exercise of powers as a Dominion Agent, Debeswar Sarma had finally left Manipur on 12th June 1948.

The *Rules for Election* and the *Franchise Rules* under new Constitution Act were completed in March 1948, and most of the political workers started canvassing support for their respective parties in the ensuing election to the State Assembly. This much awaited election to the first Manipur State Assembly was held in instalments beginning from 11th June 1948 and continued upto 27th July. The first meeting of the Assembly was opened on the 18th October 1948, with K. C. Chakrabarti as the President of the State Assembly.

In the Agreement of 2nd July 1947, it was expressly pronounced that an Agent of the Indian Dominion would remain at Imphal and he would exercise certain specific functions. It was in this context that the Governor of Assam had persuaded the Ministry of States to accept the abolition of the Dominion Agency. With the coming of the popular Government, according to the Governor, the most practical solution other than the re-introduction of the Dominion Agent, would be the appointment of a Dewan. It was for this reason that the Governor had advised to make arrangements for the Chief Minister of Manipur to take over office as the Dewan. M. K. Priya Brata Singh was appointed the first Dewan of Manipur by an order issued by Maharaja Bodh Chandra on 29th November 1948. But quite contrary to the Maharaja's expectations, some time in April 1949, the Adviser to the Governor of Assam came to Imphal and presented a letter to the Maharaja revealing the facts that the Government of India had decided to appoint one Major-General Rawal Amar Singh as the Dewan of Manipur with full power over the whole range of the State administration--specially on the control of law and order, administration of the hill tracts, State forces and relations with the Government of India.

Maharaja Bodh Chandra actually felt humiliated when he had to bow down before the Dewan of Manipur, though

under direct pressure from the Ministry of States. He therefore, expected to find some consolation when he requested an interview with the Governor of Assam in Shillong. The request was too readily accepted by the Governor, because he and his Adviser Nari Rustomji had already laid an elaborate trap at Shillong.

Maharaja Bodh Chandra went to Shillong on 15th September 1949, and reached there on the 17th morning. It was during his short stay at Shillong that the Maharaja of Manipur was forced to put his royal signature on the Merger Agreement on 21st September 1949, without even offering a chance to consult with the representatives of the people in the Manipur State Assembly.

On 15th October 1949, the ceremony of Integration of Manipur State to the Centre was performed, and Rawal Amar Singh was declared the newly appointed Chief Commissioner of Manipur. The Manipur State Council and the Assembly were also declared dissolved with effect from 15th October 1949, and the Chief Commissioner took over the charge of the administration of Manipur as a Province from that date.

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TWO

Religious Background

The Christian missionaries who came to Manipur in the later part of the nineteenth century first tried to make their settlement and the work of proselytisation among the plains people, but the existing religion of the State and its protector the Maharaja had to expel them and ordered to preach the new religion among the savage tribes of the hill areas of Manipur. The plains people who professed Hindu religion had nothing to say, because the Maharaja who controlled an overall supervision in matters of administration also assumed the role of a religious chief. It was under his wishes that the whole population had to adopt his religion. In such a country people were overtly conscious of the role played by the Hindu religion. But in spite of these strict Hindu ethos within and without the country, there seemed a great lacking of uniformity in its deeper stratum. For instance, unlike other Hindu communities a strange custom prevailed in Manipur by which a man of low caste marrying a woman of high caste was adopted into her tribe, and the children were considered as full-blooded members of their mother's caste. On the other hand, a low caste man when married to a Brahmini, he and his children became Brahmins and *vice versa*. Such practice was utterly opposed to all orthodox Hinduism.

Another strange practice in the domain of Manipuri Hinduism was the problem of excommunication, commonly known as *mangba*. Without any particular ground the Maharaja could excommunicate a person, and it was no easy matter for an excommunicated person to get back the elementary rights of Hindu professions—say, in the cremation, prayer in congregation or sradh etc. But the period of excommunication did not last long since a man could always get back into his former position if he spared a certain

amount of money to appease the Maharaja and his Brahma Sabha for the purification ceremony, the so-called ceremony of *sengba*.

When the Christian missionaries first landed in Manipur all these strange practices of Hindu religion were prevalent and in full swing. People were extremely conscious of the social atmosphere and they motivated an hierarchical legacy of Hinduism from the earliest period of Indian history amongst themselves. In such a well protected Hindu community, the missionaries tried to break through the walls and preach the Gospel. But how far they succeeded in penetrating the fort would be revealed by their actions. A brief account of the people and the doctrine of Hinduism before the Christian missionaries came into Manipur would highlight the social conditions prevalent during those days.

The profession of Hinduism had extended to nearly all the population in Manipur through successive kings from the early periods. But according to Major McCulloch the Manipuris were not strict Hindus as the observances of the religion were only for appearance sake, not the promptings of the heart. Children upto ten or twelve years of age ate every sort of food without regard to the Hindu notions of purity or impurity. And it was a common practice for the old people to abandon altogether Hindu observances. McCulloch strongly emphasised the point that Hinduism with the Manipuris was but a fashion. The custom of early marriages in Hindu religion was not approved of; polygamy was common; satee was unknown; widows were not treated as in the Hindu doctrines—because in Manipur a widow could marry again, eat any food, and dress in any style as she pleased. McCulloch commented emphatically on the prevalent fashion of Hinduism in Manipur during his time (1859):

> A religion professed, not from conviction, but because it is a fashion; and a form of Government, such that it is quite against the interest of the people to exhibit their real state, have made the Munniporees habitual deceivers. Truth abstractedly they admire, but falsehood is not detested; and when it suits their views or supposed interests, is never hesitated at. Habitual deceivers themselves, they always suspect deceit in others. Altogether their morality is low, but still crime is not excessive.[1]

Mr. R. Brown who was a British officer in Manipur had also observed that in or about 1873, the Hindus in Manipur

were very ignorant of the faith they professed. Chandra Kirti Singh who was then the Maharaja of Manipur was a religious man and he devoted much of his time in the pursuits of Hindu religion and seemed to aim at introducing Hindu observances in their entirety. Brown says:

> During the last few years, greater attention has been paid to the various festivals, as the Doorga Poojah. All the Manipuris are Baishnabs or the followers of Vishnu. There is no Brahma Samaj in this country. No Christian community is in existence here. The Brahmans of this country are well-to-do. They are provided with lands by the Maharaja, and live generally by cultivation and trade.[2]

Brown's mention of the Brahma Sabha and the social status of the Brahmins in Manipur was significant as they played a vital role without much limitation among the plains people under strict recommendations from the Maharaja of Manipur.

In 1892 when Mr. E. A. Gait submitted his report for the Census of the year 1891 he furnished some information quite contrary to the other views expressed by the British officers. The Manipuris were strict Hindus of the Vaishnava sect according to Gait. They eat fish, but would not touch flesh, and professed to be very particular in their social and religious observances, especially in adorning their foreheads with the tilak. Gait says:

> Although the Manipuris now call themselves Hindus, they still retain much of their old animistic worship, and McCulloch says that they have 'above three hundred deities who are still propitiated by sacrifices of things abhorent to real Hindus'. The Manipuris are addicted to snake worship, and every man has hanging in his house a small basket, which is supposed to contain his household deity. The priest and priestesses, who perform these ceremonies are called *Maibas* and *Maibis*. They practise exorcism in a way similar to that which has already been described in connection with other tribes.[3]

Just after the advent of the British administration in Manipur things changed quickly both in the social structure and in the sphere of Hindu doctrines. The nomination of Chura Chand Singh as the new Raja of Manipur gave rise to some ill feeling amongst the Manipuri Brahmins. When the Raja and his family came into the possession of the idol of Govindaji, which was the god of the reigning Manipur Prince, the family priests or Brahmins were preferred to the Royal temple, and the former Brahmins who officiated in the post

in continuity were dismissed. The latter were known as *Aribas*, and the new Brahmins as *Anoubas*, the distinguishing words meaning 'old' and 'new' respectively. The *Aribas* having held office under the royal patronage for so many years, were in the great majority and naturally their disciples were in overwhelming numbers, as compared with the followers of the *Anoubas*. Notwithstanding this fact, the *Anoubas* were in a position to cause much trouble, for they were in possession of the royal temple and its resident idol to Govindaji, and by the persons who were for this reason excluded for the religious observances at the temple, the disappointment was keenly felt. Again the *Anoubas*, who for so many years had been passive soon became aggressive, and every Manipuri village, large or small, throughout the valley was at once supplied with an *Anouba* Brahmin from Imphal, whose chief aim was to wrest disciples from the opposition camp.

Whatever might be the case in Hindu communities elsewhere, the Brahmin priest among the Manipuris was a necessity, his services were always in request : at births, marriages and deaths, at certain ages of the children, at feasts and holydays, at laying of foundation stones, which in Manipur was the erection of the main posts of the new house, and on many other occassions the priest must attend. Without his presence all would not be well.

Such being the state of society, party disputes on these important occasions were unseemly, and it caused extreme irritation. Family circles were large, and when the moment arrived for the call of a Brhamin, there was generally some mischievous member ready to oppose the choice of the priest. In a family of almost all *Aribas*, i.e., the disciples of an *Ariba* Brahmin, this troublesome person would raise the question of inviting an *Anouba*, and peace and calm were at an end. Until the matter was settled by a competent authority, a marriage had to be postponed, or even a dead body had to wait removal to the funeral pyre.[4] The Brahmins at that time had a very strong hold over the Manipuri society. No ceremony could be performed without the spiritual guidance of a Brahmin and no important religious or social matter were settled without referring to the Brahma Sabha. Fortu-

nately the trouble between the two sects of Brahmins was finally closed during the 1890s.

The Manipuris, like most new converts, were full of zeal for their religion. They were much under the influence of their priests; and in every Brahmin's house in the Imphal town there was a neat building used as a shrine for the presiding deity, and an open shed (mandap) where the villagers assembled for Sankirtan, the songs and hymns which formed so large a part in the ritual of the Vaishnavites. The profane foot of a European might not enter even the compound of a Brahmin, and if he set foot on the verandah of an ordinary villager, the house would be instantly abandoned and another erected in its place. Mr. B. C. Allen says in his Gazetteer:

> The people abstain from liquor and intoxicating drugs, and will not touch animal food of any kind. The *tulsi* plant is carefully cultivated in the centre of each compound, and they are most particular with regard to the application of the *tilak* or mark which is peculiar to the Vaishnavites. At the same time they are free from those unwholesome ideas with regard to the treatment of their womenkind which have infected the Hinduism of Bengal, and which are entirely opposed to what is known of the customs of the early Aryans. Early marriage and the *purdah* are unknown, and the Manipuri women enjoy fully as much freedom as their sisters in the hills.[5]

Mr. T. C. Hodson who was for some time the officiating Superintendent of the Hill Tracts of Manipur, emphasised the fact that, in Manipur through the annals of its religious history there had always been a comingling of the stately fabric of Hinduism, with its elastic ease of accommodation with the fresh, healthy and indigenous system of animism. He says that the old order of things (which he referred to the animistic system) had not passed away by any means, and the *maiba*, the doctor and priest of the animistic system, still found a livelihood despite their competition with the Brahmins of the Vaishnavite cult. It seemed difficult to estimate the precise effect of Hinduism on the civilisation of the people. To the outward observer they seemed to have adopted only the festivals, the outward ritual, the case marks, and the exclusiveness of Hinduism, while all unmindful of its spirit and inward essentials. Hodson had favoured and authenticated William McCulloch's remarks given in 1859 by defending his own comments on the practice of animistic ritual in Manipur:

> The *Maibas* frequently adapt their methods to the altered circumstances in which they now find themselves, and realize that the combination of croton oil and a charm is more efficacious than the charm alone. It is too much to expect them to give up the charm all at once.
>
> In Manipur where Hinduism is a mark of respectability, it is never safe to rely on what men tell of their religion; the only test is to ascertain what they do, and by this test we are justified in holding them to be still animists.[6]

During the early decades of Maharajá Chura Chand Singh's reign in Manipur many uneventful incidents occured in matters of religion. Brahmins and the Rajkumars gained special facility over the common population. A senior Brahmin in age did not bow down his head as a mark of respect before the Maharaja. The royal family had utilised the opportunity given by the new social status to expand their clan in strength and influence all over the valley. Powers and privileges were offered to the Rajkumars. All sons of the Maharaja were addressed as 'Maharaj Kumar' and the children of these Maharaj Kumars automatically became Rajkumars. They used to enjoy a special status in the Manipuri society, and they along with the Brahmins were the most privileged. A Brahmin used to sit on top of a line in a social feast in spite of the presence of even distinguished and senior members of the general sections.

Since the advent of Vaishnavism and its adoption as the State religion, the Brahmins became the dispensers of spiritual and social justice. Even Maharaja Chura Chand Singh went by the advice of his royal Brahmins. A few learned Brahmins served the potentate as mentors. This body of Brahmins was known as the Brahma Sabha mainly consisting of senior Brahmins well versed in scriptures and who contributed to the formulation and implementation of social conventions related to religion. The Brahma Sabha used to exercise power and influence of the Brahmins with the patronage of the Maharaja. The decision of the Sabha was the last verdict on many social and religious issues. The authority of the Brahma Sabha was utilised more on the formal side of religion than for the spiritual content of the Hindu faith.

The Brahma Sabha soon became an instrument for exploitation and misuse of the royal power in the name of religion and thus it became extremely unpopular among the

social reformers. A man with no legal charge could be suddenly excommunicated by the Sabha, but with the approval of the Maharaja. During the period of excommunication a dead body had to remain for days without cremation. Even relatives would not come to an invitation from an excommunicated person. For the ritual of purification the Maharaja had to refer the matter to the Sabha and the affected person to gain his former echelon was required to pay a certain amount of money. It was only after 1934 when the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha came into existence that the imposition of *mangba* and *sengba* had faced political opposition.

The Brahma Sabha had utilised its powers to weaken the Hindu community by encouraging a large number of formalities in the name of Hindu orthodoxy, and thereby victimising individuals and groups who incurred the displeasure of the leading Brahmins and the Maharaja. The Maharaja himself became a helpless tool in the hands of the leading Brahmins of his times.[7]

Religious formalities dominated the social scene and the Maharaja found religion a convenient weapon for exploitation of the people. The leading Brahmins had introduced a number of disciplines in the social habits of the people. Hindu orthodoxy was pushed to the extreme and as a result the relation between the Hindus and non-Hindus became highly strained. The valley people were socially separated from the hill people.

Like the Manipuris who settled in the valleys and who had a long tradition of religious belief among their community, the hill people had no traditional religion and no recorded chronicles. Some of them were migratory by nature; war and feuds and mass killings had been a practice among them and thereby the number of population in the hill areas was reduced suddenly at a time.

Each Naga tribe had their own concepts of God or a Supreme Being either on the flimsiest ground or an authenticated doctrinal belief. This they called their religion. Dr. Verrier Elwin who was a friend, philosopher and guide to the tribal people of Assam and Manipur once said that up to 1931 the tribal people who had not adopted one of the

historical religions were usually known as animists. Although this work has now become out of fashion most of the British scholars who wrote during the early decades of the nineteenth century could not but describe these hill people and their religions as animists.

As early as 1841 Mr. W. Robinson once made a remark that among the Nagas we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions were suggested to the mind by the dread of impending evils and thus originated the worship of evil spirits. Amongst the Nagas there appeared an adequate conception of the power that presides in nature. They acknowledged a Diving Power to be the maker of the world, and the disposer of all events. Their ideas of a Diving Power, however, were faint and confused; and of His attributes they were entirely ignorant. Of the immorality of the soul they had some faint notions. Mr. Robinson said:

> The Nagas have no established form of worship; they have no temples erected in honour of their deities, and no ministers peculiarly consecrated to their service. They have the knowledge, however, of several superstitious ceremonies and practices handed down to them by tradition; and to these they have recourse with a childish credulity, when roused by any emergence from their usual insensibility, and excited to acknowledge the power and to implore the protection of superior beings.[8]

Mr. E. A. Gait who was an authority on Assam history and its surrounding areas was of opinion that there could be no greater mistake than to assume that each tribe had its own individual beliefs, differing widely from those of others and circumscribed by the narrow tribal limits. The facts were quite the reverse, and the religion of these tribes—Shamanism, Animism or Nat worship was everywhere practically the same. There are differences, it is true, but they are differences of practice or detail rather than of fundamental principles. On the basis of the above criteria, Mr. Gait had outlined the animistic tenets found among all the Naga tribes both in Assam and Manipur. In his report submitted for the *Census of India*, 1891, he mentioned about the situations in Assam:

> There is a vague but very general belief in some one omnipotent being, who is well disposed towards men, and whom therefore there is no necessity for propitiating. Then come a number of evil spirits, who ware

> ill disposed towards human beings, and to whose malvolent interference are ascribed all the woes which afflict mankind. To them, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malvolent spirits are sylvan deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks and the streams, and sometimes also of the tribal ancestors.[9]

Among the Nagas there was no regular priesthood, but some persons were supposed to be better endowed with the power of divination than others. When a calamity occurred one or more of these diviners was called on to ascertain the particular demon who was offended, and who required to be pacified by a sacrifice. This was done either by devil dancing or by an examination of omens—eggs, grains of rice or the entrails of a fowl. According to Mr. Gait animism was a religion of a very low type. It was professed by the most backward tribes of the Assam province and there was no probability of their ever gaining converts from the ranks of other religions. But the spread of education and the influence of Christianity was yearly reducing the number of persons who still clung to the superstitions of their forefathers. The great mass of the Nagas were still faithful to the religion of their forefathers, and in 1901 96% of the population were still described as animists. These people believed in the existence of a supreme creator. They ascribed to the malignant action of evil spirits when sickness and other misfortunes befall them. Most of the Nagas believed that there was something in a man which survived the death of the body, but what it was, and where it went, they could not say. Mr. B. C. Allen described the conditions of the Nagas during the first decade of the century:

> Hinduism has no attraction for the Naga. In the plains converts gravitate towards it in obedience to the law which draws the smaller body towards the greater. All men like to follow the fashion, even though it may entail considerable personal inconvenience, so year by year the animistic tribes are abandoning their pork, and fowl and beer, though many a longing eye is cast upon the flesh-pots of Egypt. But in the hills no distinction is conferred by Hinduism, and nothing less than a strong desire for social advancement would induce a Naga to adopt a religion which would impose on him so many troublesome restrictions.[10]

Below the upper crust of observances which Brahmanism enforced, there was a mass of more primitive beliefs, which formed the real faith of the majority of the people. This jungle of diverse beliefs and cults had been classed under the

unsatisfactory title of animism, by which it meant the belief which explained to primitive men the constant movements and changes in the world of things by the theory that every object which had activity enough to affect him in any way was animated by a life and will like his own. The term 'animism' was one of the most discussed subjects among the British scholars who held responsible posts among the tribal areas of the whole India. In the chapter on religion of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909), Mr. Crooke sums up the leading features of animism as defined by Mr. Risley in the following:

> It conceives of man as passing through life surrounded by a ghostly company of powers, elements, tendencies, mostly impersonal in their character, shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made and no definite idea can be formed. Some of these have departments or spheres of influence of their own; one presides over cholera, another over small-pox, another over cattle diseases; some dwell in rocks others haunt trees, others, again, are associated with rivers, whirlpools, waterfalls, or strange pools hidden in the depths of the hills. All of them require to be diligently propitiated by reason of the ills which proceed from them, and usually the land of the village provides the means for their propitiation.[11]

The shrines of the animists were some rude stones piled under a sacred tree, or a mud platform where a tiger had killed a man, or a curiously shaped rock which was supposed to have assumed the shape from some supernatural agency etc. The priests of animistic doctrine were not drawn from the Brahman order like the Hindus, and their office was often not hereditary.

Among other definitions of the term animism a special mention was made by Pettigrew who supplied the vital reports to Mr. J. McSwiney, Superintendent of the Census Operations in Assam for the year 1911. Pettigrew defined his own concept of animism with contextual reference to Warneck's famous book on *The Living Forces of the Gospel*:

> Animism is the key to an understanding of ancestor worship and of all that is commonly called heathen superstition. . . . . The worship of spirits is reared on the basis of animism and has to do with demons and ancestors, for the spirits of the dead in their malicious doings are scarcely distinguishable from the demons. Earth, air and water are supposed to be peopled with spirits. They are most numerous in the forest and in the waste fields, where they lie in wait for the living and afflict them with disease and madness or drag them away, to an awful death. They prawl round the houses at night, they spy through the crevices of the partitions, or come into the house in the form of some

man or beast. The number of dangerous spirits to which human misery is tracked back is legion.[12]

From the reports of the *Census of India*, 1911, it was proved that animists were found mainly in the hill areas of Manipur, where they constituted over two-thirds of the population. In the Naga and Lushai Hills over nine-tenths of the people still clung to their primitive ideas, and even in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills where Christianity had made strides, over four-fifths of the people were still unconverted. But in North Cachar and Manipur, animists constituted less than half of the population owing to the spread of Hinduism. In all the hill districts, except North Cachar and Manipur the proportion of animists had already declined. The success of the growth of Christianity usually obtained amongst animistic tribes who had not yet felt the attraction of Hinduism.[13]

In the Census returns of 1911 the main religions in Manipur, per 10,000 of the whole population were shown as below. But unfortunately the Census papers of 1891 were all destroyed in the rising that took place in the year.

1. Hindus : 5920 in 1881; nil in 1891; 5996 in 1901 and 5816 in 1911.

2. Animists : 3857 in 1881; nil in 1891; 3631 in 1901 and 3758 in 1911.

3. Christians : 7 in 1881; nil in 1891; 45 in 1901 and 132 in 1911.

The above table shows that apart from the greater percentage of the Hindu converts, a good number of the hill people were still under the influence of an animistic faith which either Hinduism or Christianity could not attract. These animists who inhabited among the hill tracts of the State were not under the direct control of the Maharaja of Manipur. It was among these wild tribes that the Christian missionaries first settled and tried to impress upon them a more refined and enlightened civilisation of the Western world. when the missionaries came to Manipur to propagate the new religion amongst the savage tribes, they were young, energetic, vigorous and full of aspirations. But they went back old and spent, with nothing to gain from the tribal people except a moral victory which was more humane and profitable in the service of mankind. Most of the missionaries

were accustomed to conditions of ease and comfort in their homes in England, but they devoted their entire lives at a tremendous personal sacrifice, to service among the tribal people. Through generations of dedicated service the missionaries had earned the confidence, advice and guidance from the half-civilised people. 'It is often the imponderables that count the more'.

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THREE

Christian Missions in the Feudatory States of India

When the Christian missionaries requested for permission to enter into the Feudatory States of India the question of an understanding of feudatory relations was discussed. It was based on the principle that the attribute of sovereignty over the native States of India would divide between the Chiefs and the Crown in degrees which might vary with each State. It was presumed that the subjects of the Chiefs were subjects also of the Queen to the extent to which she shared the sovereignty.

The word 'independence' when applied to the Feudatory States was understood in relation to the power of the Crown, which was paramount, and was always in evidence in the person of the Resident or the Political Agent. The term never meant a political independence, for the States could not enter into political relations with each other, or with foreign States. Neither it meant an administrative independence, for the paramount power always claimed the right of interposing in case of misgovernment, or of intolerant actions either on the part of the Maharaja or the people, or of any abuse, however cherished or time-honoured.

In the Feudatory States of India, the Supreme Power had put an end to many practices identified with religion, when found to imply tyranny, immorality or crime; for instance, the burning of Sati, infanticide, human sacrifice, capital punishment for killing cows and burning alive of lepers etc. But of course the States were allowed to administer their own affairs according to native law and usage so far as they did not seriously fall below the standard of government presented by the Supreme Power. After the outbreak of

the Anglo-Manipur war in 1891, Major H. St. P. Maxwell was appointed Political Agent and Superintendent of the State, but the Government of India in their letter No. 1878-E, dated 21st September 1891, directed the Political Agent in Manipur that he would exercise his powers with due regard for the customs and traditions of the Manipuris, and he would endeavour to interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions insofar as they might be compatible with peace and good order.[1]

When the question of 'intolerance' was put forward, either on the part of the ruler or of the ruled, the Supreme Power had adopted a principle that no rights would be forfeited or impaired by change of religion or loss of caste. Sir Charles Aitchison had pointed out:

> These Native States, with the exception of the Rajputs are of mushroom growth, having a shorter history than our own. In some, like Bhopal, Hyderabad, Tonk and others, the rulers are Muhammedan, and the people Hindu. In Kashmir, we have a Muhammedan population under a Hindu ruler. What the British Government, as the Imperial Power, concerns itself with, is not the religious belief, in which rulers and people are alike left free to follow their convictions, but the good government of the country.[2]

There were in all India some six hundred Feudatory States covering one-third of its area, and containing nearly one-fourth of its population, and forming accordingly an important part of the field of Christian Missions. Christian missionaries found their way into a number of these States, with an almost invariable experience of the difference between the imperial and the native idea of toleration and they often had to carry on their work under extremely irritating disabilities. Preaching had sometimes been forbidden, and in most States it was found impossible through the opposition of the Darbar to hire or purchase house accommodation or acquire sites for building. It was unfortunate for the missionaries to have made the serious blunder of accepting the native view of independence, instead of claiming at all risks that the Feudatory States acted on the imperial conception.

We may point out some of the important factors which strongly tended to aggravate the evil. First, the Supreme Government and the Political Agents were under a miscon-

ception of the neutral attitude towards matter of religion, especially towards the Christian religion. Second, the leading Chiefs, i.e., the Maharajas and the Dewans had judged that a religion which was rather discountenanced than encouraged, might well be excluded from their State altogether, or crippled and harassed if allowed to enter. Also there had been a perfectly natural clinging to their own notion of 'independence'. Third, Missions almost invariably implied the presence of Europeans, who, for obvious reasons, could not be welcome residents.

Christian Missions in these States were merely on sufferance, requiring the sanction of the Darbar for every step they took, every school they opened, every house they hired, every plot of ground they wished to purchase etc. But actually the Christian missionaries wished to advance under the aegis of the British Government and under a special favour as regards settlements in native States. Their plea was that the religion of the Queen Empress and of the Government was entitled to treatment as fair as was accorded within any British territory, to native forms of faith. A Christian missionary claimed nothing more of Native Rulers than the British Government freely accorded to a Hindu *Goswami* or a Musalman *Moulavie.*

The story of the introduction of Missions into native States was as instructive and interesting as any chapter of the British religious annals It presented examples of wise, patient and persevering effort, and of zeal and resolution in face often of absurd as well as bitter obstruction. It is remarkable to note that Christian missionaries first entered a Western State under British sanction, and apparently without reference to the native Darbar. This sanction was obtained for the Irish Presbyterian Mission by Dr. Wilson of Bombay in 1841. The East India Company had been compelled by the public opinion of Great Britain expressed through Parliament, to tolerate missionaries in their ordinary territory. Upto the year 1899, there had been no instance of a Christian Mission in a native State. But for the pioneering work and influence of Dr. Wilson, the principalities of Western and Northern India would have remained closed for many a day. His interviews with Chiefs and people

had prepared them as well as the British Government for Christian schools and preachers. This was a good beginning, because about 1861, the religious toleration Dr. Wilson had thus claimed prevailed at last in the Feudatory States of India. Around 1893 there was no great native State in India, Hindu or Muhammedan, in which there were no Christian missionaries and Churches.

The facts were a little far from bearing out this favourable view of the situation. Prior to 1899, following a late list in the *Times of India Calendar* of the principal Ruling Chiefs in India, there were, including Kashmir, 109, and in the territories of only 20 of these had Christian Missions obtained a footing, and in most of them with difficulty. In Dr. Husband's *Missionary Directory* for 1898 there is an Index of Mission stations in India and it shows that only 30 out of 539 stations were in the Feudatory States, to which, from other sources, 8 more could be added. The whole blame of course, lay with the Missionary Societies which had not been sufficiently aggressive.

Most of the ruling Chiefs of these Feudatory States had informed the missionaries that they would not be allowed to preach without the special leave of the Darbar. There was another difficulty of getting sites for necessary buildings. The missionaries tried for years to get a site for a bungalow in the native States, but they had been refused on one pretext or another and it seemed that the ruling Chiefs were determined not to let the missionaries have a Mission House at all. Indeed so determined had the opposition to granting sites been in these Feudatory States that for the first time the Irish Presbyterian Mission adopted the policy of acquiring property only within British jurisdiction in the nearest Civil Stations or Cantonments etc. This policy had been followed by other Missions and it doubtless explained the comparatively small number of Mission stations in the native States. The difficulties connected with the title-deeds and security of property, and not always opposition on the part of the States, kept the Missionary Societies from buying ground.

As a rule missionaries had not attempted to secure for themselves better conditions for carrying on their work in these States. They took it for granted that Feudatory rule

carried with it the power of excluding Christian missionaries, and that, therefore, they could only obey their Master's command by watching favourable moments. It was in this way that most of the Missions obtained their settlements. Another policy was that the medical missionary had frequently opened the way, obtaining a house or a building site for his Mission in return for some exercise of his professional skill. There were, however, exceptional cases where native authorities showed no objection in the missionary's way; and there were one or two who actually welcomed and encouraged the Mission's work. For instance, in the State of Chamba close to Kashmir, the Raja helped the Mission and also offered to rebuild the Church which was in danger of falling.

The mere fact that it was Christianity that requested an entrance was surely enough to account for the Hindu and Muhammedan States opposing it. Instances did occur of opposition to mere preaching or teaching; but opposition was more pronounced in case of attempts to obtain sites or to hold property; and even still more when, as in the case of most Missions, Europeans had to be dealt with. There were States indeed which professed that they had no objection to missionaries working in their territories, nor to their possessing property, provided it be held in a native name. The reason alleged was that Europeans were not subject to the Criminal Courts of the native States. In Manipur State also the Darbar was the highest original and appellate Criminal Court and it tried all cases beyond the jurisdiction of the Cherap Court except those in which hill-men were concerned and those that arose within the British Reserve. In Article 5 of the *Administration of Justice* in Manipur the following rule was prescribed:

> European British subjects will be solely subject to the jurisdiction of the Political Agent, who will try all cases in which a European British subject is a party.[3]

The argument was that, Europeans might practically do what they liked in a native State—act as cruelly and unjustly to the subjects of the State as they pleased, while they had no redress. Most of the ruling Chiefs thought that Europeans were aliens in the first place, and above the law in the next,

and therefore it was unreasonable to suppose that they would be tolerated, much less encouraged in an independent State. This, of course, was applied to all Europeans, whatever the object they had in view in entering the State. Sir James Johnstone also took it for granted that the presence of one or two Europeans constantly moving about caused a great source of annoyance even to the high officials of Manipur. The mere fact of the European's relation to the ruling race rendered him an unwelcome resident, especially in the neighbourhood of the Darbar, whose doings he would be likely to criticise, with or without adequate reason.

Following a hot-heated argument between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Governor-General in Council of the British Government regarding the issue of permission to the Europeans who wished to settle, buy land and acquire premises for business purpose as well as missionary activities, the Government of India finally issued an Order to the effect that it could not allow any native State in India to prevent a European British subject from enjoying in any part of the Empire so common and necessary a right.[4]

This Order met the objection of Indian native States in regard to jurisdiction over Europeans by a mere reference to the prerogative of the Supreme Power. But these States were not separate political organisations, determining their relations to other States, and to the British Government by their own will. They even could not have an internal independence that would preclude the oversight of the Supreme Power. The Supreme Power, on the other hand, not by treaty-engagements, but by virtue of its own constitution, had retained jurisdiction over Europeans or British subjects, but still there was no guarantee for the good behaviour of British subjects in native States.

The Order of the Supreme Government gave the Missionary Societies all they wanted. The claim made by these Societies counted to nothing more than that the Christian religion would have the same toleration in these States. In other words, and in terms of the Order, preaching, teaching and healing etc., would be reckoned among the legitimate purposes for which men came into these States. After the Order had been issued and a decision given that would have

set the trouble at rest, there seemed to have been another decision to keep the matter under lock and key. Cases of irritating obstruction had occurred since the Order was issued, and no attempt was made by the leading authorities to allow its free application. After the relegation of the Order to the Confidential Department, the Missionary Societies in India took it as an expression of the Supreme Government to the legitimate rights of British subjects in native States. The Missionary Societies quoted the Queen's proclamation of 1858, where an indication for men to decide for themselves what religion they would follow free from all force and persecution on one side or the other was clearly stated. What the Societies sought for was a free conscience and a free judgement to the humblest individual in the native States of India.

The Missionary Societies finally took a firm decision and the same was made known to the concerned authorities of British India that the Religion of Christ would be proclaimed throughout India, and the mouth of the preacher would not be closed, or his way barred by Political Orders or State hostilities. They also referred to the *Higher Authority* who commands that the Gospel should be preached to every creature and that command must be obeyed at all hazards. They also condemned the policy of 'intolerance' as an unwise move.

Some of the intelligent British officers who were employed in the Indian Civil Service and who had direct contact with the Christian missionaries were strongly in their favour to get entrance by quiet persistence, and an influence of kindly and patient manner, rather than by endeavouring to obtain the support and assistance of the Government. Mr. A. H. L. Fraser (C. S. I.) of the Indian Civil Service once made a remark that 'the man who thus finds his way in, works at the greatest advantage as compared with the man who employs official influence to gain a footing'.[5]

The Government had guaranteed the native rulers their rule and authority within their own States. It insisted on their keeping the peace among themselves and also that there would be no such misrule as could only, under other circumstances be cured by revolution. But it certainly did

not insist on the adoption by the Feudatory Chiefs of all the enlightened principles of Government which it had itself adopted. On the other hand, the Political Officers who represented the Supreme Power, were officially directed to pay due regard to the customs and age-old traditions of the States concerned. Nor did the Government consider it expedient to interfere with the existing institutions. Its main aim was to assist the Feudatory Chiefs with advice and encouragement in governing their States.

Religious toleration and equality existed everywhere. But the British Government could not make religious toleration within its own borders dependent on the condition that it should be extended to Christianity elsewhere. Because the Government were in a neutrality in religion. Further, the Government did not insist on the full adoption by native States of its own enlightened policy and it did not contemplate that degree of interference with the native rulers. Both on the ground of the true interests of Mission work, and on the ground of Imperial policy, no political authorities could advocate any attempt to move the Government of India to press the rulers of the Feudatory States to permit the entrance and establishment of Missions.

It was considered that grave injustice done to any class of the community on account of its religion, whether that class be Hindu, Muhammedan or Christian, the matter would be brought to the notice of the British Government, and, through the political officers, to the native rulers. It was the policy of the Government to prevent serious injustice and the oppression of classes in native States. In his letter to Dr. Macdonald, Mr. A. H. L. Fraser in his capacity as a British official made the following remarks:

> I think that if inquiry shows that widespread injustice is done in any State to Native Christians, and that they suffer in their civil rights owing to their religion, the missionary conferences and societies would be perfectly justified in bringing such grievances to the notice of the Government or of its Political Officers for such action as it might see fit to take.[6]

The two Orders issued by the Supreme Power were apparently contradictory in its nature and it affected the policy of advancement in regard to missionary activities in most of the native States. The Order in Council of 1896

declared that, "it is necessary that British subjects should be allowed to purchase on hire with complete freedom any private buildings which they want for the purpose of legitimate trade or occupation, or any private land for the erection of such building ."It was itself flatly contradictory to the Order issued by the Government of India on 21st September 1891, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the effect that the Political Agent would pay due regard for the customs and traditions of the Manipuris and interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions of the State. An implied meaning of the Order might be reckoned as that since the ruling Chief and his subjects professed Hinduism no Europeans, either missionary or common people would be allowed to settle in Manipur. Permissions to the Europeans were issued by the Political Agent but with reference to the Maharaja, and in most cases these were denied. The term 'freedom' had lost its meaning and the missionaries certainly did not understand that their promise involved an arrest on all further advance in their work.

The spiritual anticipation of the Missionary Societies the Political Orders or any State hostilities would not bar and close the mouth of the preacher came into reality in the first decade of the century. In spite of repeated warnings and objections to the Societies, a heavy network of missionary activities had actually infiltrated into Assam Province. Among them the largest sect was the Presbyterian which was represented by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the next the Baptist. These two communities included between them four-fifths of the Christians of the Assam Province. The Anglican Communion, the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics practically made up the remainder.

The most successful Christian Mission was that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist which had its Headquarters in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and small branches in the Lushai Hills, Cachar and Sylhet, where its efforts were mainly confined to the Namasudra caste. The next in importance was the American Baptist Mission which worked in all the districts of the Bramhaputra Valley, except Darrang, in the Naga Hills, Garo Hills, Khasi Hills and Manipur. The German

Evangelical Lutheran (Gossner's) Mission had branches in Kamrup, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel worked in Cachar, Darrang and Sibsagar. Roman Catholics had Missions in Sylhet, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Kamrup and Lakhimpur. Besides the above, there were the following in individual districts: Free Church of Scotland Santhal Mission and American Presbyterians in Sylhet; Church of God (American) Mission in the Khasi Hills; the Baptist Missionary Society and the Lakher Pioneer Congregationalist Mission in the Lushai Hills; the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals (Lutheran Church of Denmark) in Goalpara; the Church Missionary Society and Canadian Independent Baptist Mission in Lakhimpur.[7] All these Missionary Societies worked among the animistic tribes of the hill areas. Before coming direct to the Manipur field it is noteworthy to sketch in brief a historical background of the missionary activities in the Assam Province which had close contacts with the Mission works in Manipur.

Mr. David Scott who was the first Commissioner of Assam invited some English missionaries to preach Christianity among the Garos. Major Francis Jenkins who succeeded David Scott as the second Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General of the North-East Frontier was also of opinion that a Christianity would be attractive to the animistic hill tribes surrounding the Province. The area under his administration was divided into four districts: Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong. He himself expressed his views on the subject:

> The tribes on the Assam frontier should be brought within the scope of missionary activities as early as possible as the influence of persons skilled in the languages of these tribes, and devoting their time and attention to humanise these rude races could not fail of being useful to us and to them.[8]

Francis Jenkiins had accordingly requested the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society to come to Assam and work among the animistic tribes. The Society accepted his request immediately by being appointed one of their young missionaries Rev. Nathan Brown to establish a centre at Sadiya. Brown himself was a famous linguist and the contributed some of his important writings in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal viz., *Alphabets of the Tai Language*

(1837); *Comparison of Indo-Chinese Language* (1837); and *Memorandum of Various Phaenomena* (1843). Insofar as Francis Jekins had offered to give the Mission Rs. 2,000 for a printing press. Oliver Cutter, a printer was appointed to accompany Nathan Brown.

In 1836, Nathan Brown, Miles Bronson and Oliver Cutter came to Assam to take up the proselytizing work and they went upto Sadiya where the British Government had established its Headquarters. But they had to shift their Headquarters from Sadiya to Sibsagar along with the British administrative officials.

In 1839-40 Miles Bronson set out in the hills of Naga tribes at Namsang, a village in the Tirap Frontier among the Nocte (Namsang and Borduria) Nagas. Bronson opened a school there and he encouraged the Noctes to earn their livelihood by working in the newly opened tea-gardens. He also introduced advanced methods of salt excavation in the brines. His service among the Nagas was short-lived. Due to his illness and the death of his sister, Bronson had to leave the Nocte Naga hills and the work was eventually stopped till the arrival of Rev. E. W. Clark at the Sibsagar Mission in 1871. He arrived there with a strong determination to preach Christianity among the Naga tribes. After some missionary activities, Mr. Clark marched upto Molung village in the month of December 1872. There he saw a favourable atmosphere for the prospects of his Mission and he thus approached Colonel Hepinson, the Commissioner of Assam, requesting him to permit for the establishment of a permanent Mission centre among the Ao Nagas, which was readily granted by the Government of India.

By separating the Christian Nagas from the animist village in a way to lay the solid foundation of Christianity Mr. Clark founded the first Molung Christian village in 1876. Afterwards this centre became the most important Christian Mission in the Naga hills, particularly for the Ao Nagas. Mrs. Clark made a few remarks on the everyday life at Molung:

> Bringing the gospel to these savage hill tribes taxed to the utmost the resources of the missionary. A good knowledge of their language, habits and character is absolutely essential for gaining their confidence and winning souls. Some knowledge of medicine also is of great advantage; it is an open door into many homes, and puts an end to consulting soothsayers and sacrificing to demons.[9]

Frequent councils were held with the missionaries on village and inter-village matters; ambassadors from beyond the border to the missionaries came for advice, and thus many difficulties were settled in a satisfactory and peaceable manner which otherwise might have ended in bloody conflict. Mr. Clark was every alert to show the people that he was not among them for the benefit of a single village, but for the good of all.

In November 1880, Mr. Clark received another missionary called Rev. C. D. King of the Assam Mission. Meanwhile in 1878, the district Head Quarters had to shift to Kohima. Acquisition of Kohima was one of the main cause leading to an uprising in 1879, when Kohima became a battle-field. The military encroachment had aroused the war villages in the interior, and thus an attack on the English was begun at Samagutting. Kohima was also besieged by thousands of hostile Nagas and was only relieved by an increased English force.

The Angami tribe was finally subjugated and annexed to the British territory and Kohima was also permanently occupied by the British. These incidents occurred in March 1880, and about this time the Lhota tribe, lying between the Angamis and the Aos, was taken in, thus bringing the English rule upto the Ao border. Mr. Clark requested the Missionary Union to send a man among the Angami Nagas, to Kohima as the missionary Head Quarters. His request was favoured by deputing C. D. King from Samagutting to Kohima. Immediately after the conflicts at Kohima had ended and the British flag unfurled over Kohima C. D. King along with his wife hastened there.

In January of the same year (1880) Rev. S. W. Rivenburg arrived at Molung, and in May Mr. Clark took his first home furlough after sixteen years of missionary services in Assam. C. D. Kings went back to America on account of ill health, and it was decided that the Rivenburgs should succeed them at Kohima. They took charge of the Baptist Mission work among the Angami, Rengma, a part of Sema, Zeliang and the Kuki tribes etc. The Rivenburgs remained at Kohima toiling faithfully amidst many difficulties, reducing the language to writing and doing much evangelistic, literary and medical

work. Mary Mead Clark recorded in her book about the Rivenburgs and their works:

> The work of the Rivenburgs has appealed to the Government, which has given them an excellent building site; a twenty years' lease of another piece of land on which stands two buildings, admirably adapted for school purposes; a monthly grant-in-aid of fifty five rupees to help maintain the school; and generous grants for printing of Scripture translations, school books, and medical works prepared by Doctor Rivenburg.[10]

In 1884, Rev. W. E. Witter and his wife had arrived in Assam, and for their posting the more invigorating climate of the Naga Hills was suggested, and Wokha village in the Lhota tribe was selected for them. Accordingly P. H. Moore of Nowgong and W. E. Witter had visited Molung to consult with Mr. Clark who favourably insisted the Witters to come and settle at once. A telegram was sent to the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills asking permission to open a Mission station among the Lhotas. The reply was most favourable and an abandoned rest-house was placed at the disposal of the Mission. In spite of many unhappy circumstances thrown by the British administration, this Lhota Mission had promised a good beginning. By some change in the British officials a large Government rest-house was offered to them free of rent. But owing to ill health of both Mr. and Mrs. Witter, and after a long attendance to the hospitable Mission bungalow of Nowgong they finally left Assam in the spring of 1888. The Government of India had published *An Outline Grammar of the Lhota Naga Language* written by Mr. Witter. Some typewritter primers, *Assamese Catechism into Lhota*, translation of the hymn "There is a Happy Land" from the *New Testament* etc. were among the important literary efforts left by the Witters.

A long pending request for help in establishing a higher grade of school for training to teachers and evangelists was finally answered when Rev. S. A. Perrine and his wife arrived in 1892. Mr. Clark met them on the Bramhaputra river *en route* to their Assam Conference at Tura, in the Garo Hills. By the end of 1983, the Mission force for the hill work was further augmented by the arrival of Rev. E. P. Haggard and his family. It became a problem for the Molung Hill Station to accommodate for more additional bungalows. Since

Molung was nearly at one extremity of the Ao tribe the missionaries began looking around toward the planting of a more central station. Accordingly the Perrines and Haggards in the autumn of 1894 had abandoned Molung and moved to the new station at Impur, but the Clarks had tarried at Molung upwards of a year after the removal of station. A few hints on the description of Impur were recorded by Mrs. Clark:

> Impur is an ideal, picturesque location, a little over four thousand feet altitude, with pretty rolling lands, and a little eminence for each of the three bungalows. From our crest we look on peaks and peaks beyond, six thousand, eight thousand, even ten thousand feet elevation, from which the waters course Burma-ward. The missionaries named the place Impur, meaning in Naga dialect Chieftown, a Centre, from which even now the light of the Cross is shining afar.[11]

Impur is one hundred miles from Kohima, the then Head-quarters of British rule in the Naga Hills, and about ten miles from Makokchung, the sub-divisional Headquarters. The Impur station was a better centre not only for the Ao Nagas, but for the Semas, Lhotas, Changs, Phoms, Konyaks and Sangtams etc. Mr. Haggard taught the preachers and he visited among the tribes looking after the churches and giving the Gospel to the animist hill population. Perrine was over the training school, preparing young men for pastors, evangelists and day-school teachers and young women to be suitable wives for such men. The pupils studying in this Training School were, many of them, sons and daughters of the old-time head cutters who carried their decorated spears and battle axes and wore *insignia* emblematical of bloody deeds.

For several years circumstances had prevented further mission work among the Lhotas. While among the Aos at Impur, Haggard had visited much among the Lhota villages and with his family they lived at Wokha portions during the years 1896-97. But the Missionary Union had asked the Haggards to return at Impur, and after they left in December 1896, and Assamese preacher Zilli was appointed in their place.

The conjugal atmosphere at the Impur station was broken up in February 1899, when the Haggards had to return to America. They were recalled by the Missionary

Union in London and immediately Haggard was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Union, then Editor and finally one of the Corresponding Secretaries. He never came back to Assam and after his departure the Perrines had also sailed for homeland thus leaving the Clarks alone.

In 1901, Rev. and Mrs. Dowd arrived and they joined the Clarks in their missionary activities. After a three years' furlough in homeland Mr. Clark came back to the Naga Hills in 1904, but the Perrines had to retire permanently from the country on account of Mrs. Perrine's ill health, and in their place Doctor and Mrs. Loops and Mr. Longwell and his wife came to take charge of the Station.[12]

Apart from other missionary societies, the American Baptist missionaries were working in most of the important districts of Assam. The other successful missionary activities in Assam were conducted by the well known Societies of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist. But since the American Baptist Mission had worked upto the Kohima station very near to the Manipur field, it eventually penetrated into the State. The Society of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist came from another direction and it also penetrated into the Manipur field which in due course brought complications, quarrels and even personal enmity between the two missionaries who represented the two Societies. When the Molung station of the American Baptist Mission had transferred its Headquarters to Impur in the autumn of 1894, their first missionary Rev. William Pettigrew came to Imphal to preach the message of the Gospel. In or around the year, the first missionaries of the Welsh Presbyterian had also visited the Lushai Hills to seek a virgin field for the propagation of Christ's message.

During the war of 1891 in Manipur, one Rev. William Williams, a young Presbyterian who had been working in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, visited the Lushai Hills. He arrived at Aijal in early 1891, just four months after the attack of the Lushais on Fort Aijal and Changsil and the murder of Captain Browne, the first Political Officer. J. M. Lloyd says that this missionary spent about a month at Aijal but was only successful in distributing some pictures of Christ among the Lushais. He could not convert any one, nor could

he persuade any Lushai to accompany him to the Khasi Hills to be educated there. But his visit resulted in the Welsh Presbyterian Mission's adoption of the Lushai Hills as a Mission field.[13] B. C. Allen says:

> The pioneer missionaries, Messrs. Lorrain and Savidge, commenced work at Aijal in 1894, but were obliged to leave the district in 1897. Their work was carried on by the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, and as the two pioneer missionaries returned in 1903, there were altogether in 1905 four missionaries working in the district. Christianity has not, however, as yet had time to make much progress, and in 1901 there were only 26 natives who professed that faith.[14]

Messrs Lorrain and Savidge had tried to enter the South Lushai Hills from Chittagong. But the military authorities were not inclined to allow any missionary into the Lushai Hills as they thought that it would interfere with the military action towards pacification of the warring tribes. The two missionaries next tried to enter the North Lushai Hills through Silchar. They were again refused entry but on their persistent efforts for a year they received permission to enter the North Lushai Hills and thus settled down at Aijal in 1893, and straightway started educational activities. They, in no time mastered the Lushai language and compiled a grammar and dictionary accompanied by a full Lushai-English and English-Lushai Dictionary. *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language* (Dulien dialect) was first published in 1898 at Shillong.

The next missionary in the Lushai Hills was D. E. Jones of the Welsh Mission. He arrived at Aijal in September 1897, and started working along with Lorrain and Savidge who, however left the Lushai Hills soon after, and resumed their missionary activities in 1903 in the South Lushai Hills as members of the Baptist Missionary Society. In 1898, E. E. Jones was joined by another missionary named Rev. Edwin Rolands, and they both spent a great deal of time going from one Lushai village to another spreading the Gospel. In February of the year (1898) Jones reopened the school already started by Lorrain and Savidge at Aijal which had been closed down for some time.

The missionaries had also started giving medical aids and one Dr. Fraser was inducted into the Lushai Hills. In 1908, he started a clinic at Aijal. A fully equipped hospital

was also started at Durtlang near Aijal some time later. In 1903, the South Lushai Hills had been formally transferred to the Baptist Mission Society and two separate churches, viz., the Welsh Mission in the North and the Baptist Mission in the South grew up. We have no more evidences of direct contact with either of the two missionary societies in the Lushai Hills with the Manipur field later than 1908, the year in which Dr. Fraser started the clinic at Aijal. Because an independent body commonly known as the North East India General Mission was started about this time (1910) in the Lushai Hills by Dr. Fraser, better known for his efforts to put a stop to the *Boi* system among the Lushais, on the ground that it was another name for slavery. During this time Mr. Watkin Roberts was his assistant.

The North East India General Mission was formerly known as the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission during its first inception in 1910, and in October 1923, the former name was adopted. The head missionary Mr. Watkin Roberts was a man of bad character and it was he who inspired troubles, quarrels, conflicts and many other internal and external dislocations both for his Society and the American Baptist Missionary Society of the Manipur field. He had a long character mainly inclined on the Satanic revulsions under whose influence the Manipur field was greatly affected. Aside from the missionary activities, he personally invited quarrels with Pettigrew, the Baptist missionary in Manipur, out of envy and jealousy. In a letter dated Aijal, 1st April, 1912, addressed to William Pettigrew, Watkin Roberts quoted the 2nd Corinthians 2:11, *'Lest Satan should get advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of His devices'*. But this was just the beginning of the internal conflicts between the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission of the Lushai Hills and the American Baptist Missionary Society in Manipur.

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FOUR

Arrival of Christian Missionary in Manipur

Among the various methods adopted by the Mission societies, it was thought necessary that the missionary should learn well the language of the area and to some extent he should make himself familiar with the customs of the people. But a real knowledge and interest of the non-Christian religions were rare -such knowledge as was required was mainly for controversial purposes. The work of the Bible translation was to be carried forward and versions in new languages being added to the list. Christian literature on a variety of themes was developed in a number of languages. 'Missionaries were so convinced', says Stephen Neill, 'of the absolute and exclusive truth of the Christian religion, that their preaching was direct and uncompromising, and their hearers were presented with the obligation and responsibility of choice'.[1]

When converts were won the missionaries brought them in and provided them with homes on the Mission compound. This had been a matter of necessity, because no Christian could continue to live in a Hindu village and a Christian family would have no part in the communal enterprises of the village where Hindu people dominated the other sects. This was one of the main reasons why the missionaries directed most of their energies among the savage and the hill people where the smell of other religions was totally absent. The newly converted Christians were required by the missionaries to come and live in the Christian centre, on the ground that it would be impossible for them to live as true Christians in the non-Christian atmosphere of the village, and that the only way to Christian progress was total separation from the past.

Some of these methods adopted by the Baptist missionaries in India were also followed everywhere by missionaries of the same Society who had worked in different native States of India. Christianity came to Manipur only after the heavy network of missionary activities had already established in far corners of the Assam Province by a number of Mission Societies. But was there no Christian activity in Manipur before Pettigrew came to Imphal in 1894? An answer to this question would lead us to some remote years in which a few missionaries had tried to motivate minds of the Hindu Manipuris to embrace the Christian faith.

In one of his reports William Pettigrew wrote:

> There is no record of the gospel being introduced or any missionary entering this interesting and beautiful country upto the end of 1893. Willam Carey and his associates at Serampore (India) evidently came in touch with some Manipuris, for we have the whole *New Testament* translated into their language and printed by the press at Serampore in 1824. There is only one known copy of this work, and that is in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.[2]

Information about the printing of the *New Testament* in the Manipuri language is very scarce now, but somehow in the Serampore Memoir of Translation kept by Carey, Marshman and Ward we have the following evidences :

7th Memoir of Translation, 1820, page 8.

The following in the press : Jumboo ... Munipoora printed upto Matthew.

8th Memoir of Translation, 1822, page 22.

The state of progress at press : Munipoora begun 1814, printed to 2 Cor. XII, 4.

Memoir, 1823-24.

Printed 1,000 copies, Munipoor *New Testament*, Rs. 4,000... all of them are placed in the state of distribution.[3]

As was clearly mentioned in the 8th Memoir, the work of translation was begun in 1814, some one hundred and sixty-nine years ago. Carey and his associates at Serampore had translated parts of the Bible into more than 30 languages of India. In most cases the basic draft was made by an Indian, sometimes on the basis of Carey's Sanskrit Bible, and then checked against the Greek and Hebrew texts also by Carey or one of his European colleagues. Obviously, the

standard of translation varied tremendously, and from the fact that Pettigrew found the Serampore version of no assistance, one would easily guess that the Manipuri translation was not a good one.

Printing of the Manipuri *New Testament* had continued, and the 10th Serampore Memoir records that it was not finished until 1827. Curiously, some seven pages (pp. 225-232) of the work had been acknowledged to one Manipuri, Bihari Singh.[4] But we are not certain whether this Manipuri had been converted or not.

During the period of Carey's Manipuri translation of the *New Testament* from 1814 to 1827, political situation in Manipur was of a chaotic nature. Maharaja Jai Singh had just died in 1799 in Murshidabad district after a long and chequered reign of nearly 40 years. His eldest son Harsha Chandra succeeded him, but was murdered after a reign of only two years. The second son, who was the next king also met the same fate five years later. A third son, Chaurjit Singh, ascended the throne, and the fourth, Marjit Singh had thereupon engaged in a series of useless conspiracies. On the invitation of Marjit Singh, the king of Ava invaded Manipur in 1812. Chaurjit Singh and his youngest brother Gambhir Singh had fled and thus Marjit Singh was placed on the throne. He put to death all other likely rival candidates to the throne.

In 1818, Marjit Singh invaded Cahar. Its king Govinda Chandra, failing to get British help, had solicited the aid of Chaurjit Singh who was at that time living at Jaintia. At once the latter came to his assistance and thus Marjit Singh had promptly retreated to Manipur while Chaurjit Singh established himself in the south of Cachar which Govinda Chandra had promised him as a reward for his assistance.

In the following year the Burmese had again attacked Manipur and drove Marjit Singh to Cachar. He now became reconciled to his brother Chaurjit Singh and helped him to drive away Govinda Chandra from Cachar. In 1823 their nephew Pitambar Singh led a force into Manipur and by dispossessing a man called Subal who had been installed by the Burmese, he proclaimed himself the king of Manipur. Gambir Singh thereupon collected a small force and

marched against Pitambar and defeated him. But Manipur was by this time so utterly exhausted that Gambir Singh was unable to maintain his troops there and was forced to return to Cachar. There he quarrelled with Chaurjit Singh who had retired to Sylhet.

The Burmese again took possession of Manipur and they prepare themselves for an attack on Cachar. But this was prevented by the intervention of the British who had restored Govind Chandra to the throne of Cachar. They also assisted Gambir Singh to regain Manipur. This arrangement was confirmed by a Treaty of Yandaboo which was executed between the British and the Burmese in 1826.[5] The devastation of Manipur by the Burmese has been recorded in the history of the State as the *Chahi Taret Khuntakpa* (Seven Year's Devastation). Begun in 1819, it came to an end in February 1826, when the Burmese were turned out of the Kabaw Valley by Gambir Singh with the help of the British.

Looking up the historical events of the time, it is hard to believe that any missionary could have entered the Manipur valley for the propagation of Christ's message among the Hindu Manipuris. Moreover, Maharaja Jai Singh was a great supporter of the Hindu religion and he encouraged the Brahmins and the Vaishnava missionaries who came from Bengal to settle in Manipur. It was during his reign that Gauriya Vaishnavism came to be recognised as the State religion in place of Ramanandi cult. After the prolonged devastation and turmoil of the country, Gambhir Singh, when the regained he throne of Manipur, had still continued to flourish and worship the same religion professed by his father. He founded images of Jagannath, Balaram and Subhadra and worshipped them under the model of Puri. He had also introduced *Rath Jatra* and *Punar Jatra* during his reign. Gambhir Singh again founded an image of Krishna and another of Balaram. He formulated a dance-drama called *Sanjenba*, depicting the heroic activities of Lord Krishna and Balaram while tending cows. This festival, also known as *Gostha Ashtami* was more closely connected with the religious life of the people.

From the Serampore Memoir of 1823-24, we know that translation of the Manipuri *New Testament* had been printed

at least 1,000 copies, and by the end of the year the copies were in a 'state of distribution'. The work was printed in the Deb Nagari script but the language used was old Manipuri. It is surprising to note that the language could not be read except by some Manipuris who were indeed strict adherents of Hindu faith. It is also doubtful whether any copy of the work had ever reached Manipur or not. The claims made by Pettigrew that no Gospel was introduced or any missionary entered the Manipur valley upto the end of 1893 were therefore correct.

Before the outbreak of the Anglo-Manipur war in 1891, Pettigrew had already arrived in Bengal the previous year. He came to India under the sponsorship of the Arthington Aborigines Mission. This Mission was an organisation sustained largely by one Mr. Roberts Arthington, an English gentleman of the Society of Friends. He was a large giver to Missions, his contribution being always for pioneer work, with instructions that only two workers go to a place, learn the language, give the gospel to the people, then move on to other fields, not tarrying to perpetuate their work.

When Pettigrew first arrived in Bengal he was already twenty and unmarried. Although he was a member of the Church of England he became convinced of the inadequacy of 'infant baptism', and he accordingly received 'believer's baptism' from one Rev. R. Wright Hay, a missionary living in Dacca. He remained an Anglican, but continued serving under the Arthington Mission which apparently had no objection to the action undertaken by Pettigrew. The Mission also did not object when Pettigrew reached Silchar on his way to Manipur where the originally intended to take up a pioneer mission work in the State . While staying at Silchar for about three years, he equipped himself for the preparation to enter Manipur and to learn the language and habitats of the people through some Manipuri friends. There he met some of the eminent Manipuri personalities who later became the pioneer writers of the language. He was taught Manipuri and Bengali by one Janmajoy Singh who afterwards acted as a translator of Pettigrew's *Mitei Lon-gi Vyakaran*, Part II (Manipuri Grammar) prescribed for the students of the Upper Primary Schools of the State. Other

people like—Munal Singh and Jatishwar Singh who became the Inspecting Pandits of the Primary Schools of Manipur, had also taught him the two languages. His linguistic yearning was evidently great and within the short span of three years he not only mastered the Manipuri language but had reduced it into writing. While his main concern was the spread of Christianity, he had evinced a passion for the study of the language of the people among whom he wished to live and labour. His efforts in Silchar were devoted in making up a proper religious background through which new converts would have the facility to read and enjoy a foreign religion into their own medium. In 1893 he had printed two books in Manipuri on the elementary Catechism of Christianity and a comparative study of Lord Krishna with Jesus Christ. Both the two books were published in Silchar.

After the outbreak of the Anglo-Manipur war in April 1891, the State was governed by General Collet who commanded the army of occupation upto 13th September 1891. On the same day Major H. St. P. Maxwell was appointed Political Agent and Superintendent of the State by a telegraphic message. Exactly one year after the occupation of Manipur, Maxwell received a letter on 12th September 1892, from Mr. Dalmas, Secretary of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary and the Aborigines Mission, asked for a permission to start missionary work among the Hindu Manipuris. Mr. Dalmas wrote that two gentlemen of the Society (one was Pettigrew) were already learning the Manipuri language in Silchar. But Maxwell scarcely thought that the time had come to open such an undertaking in the State, and he therefore recomended to Mr. Dalmas to commence the work among the Cachar Manipuris who were a numerous body. North Cachar Hills, Lushai Hills and such localities were more promising fields than a native State like Manipur with rocks ahead.[6] This was the first contact of Pettigrew with the State authorities of Manipur through the Secretary of the above Mission.

Mr. Dalmas plainly stated that their Society would not come to Manipur just yet, but they intended to commence missionary work at Lakhipur in the Cachar District. Maxwell knew that if the main object of the Mission was to obtain converts then it was little use coming into Manipur, because

the Manipuris were proselytes to Hinduism and so little impression could be made on them. The hill people during those days were too wild to be dealt with, and for the above reasons he advocated a halt at Cachar. A Swiss missionary had also worked at Lakhipur several years ago and not meeting with success he closed down the Mission. It seemed a bold stroke for so youthful a Mission breaking ground there again.

Most of the foreign missionaries possessed a peculiar quality of 'aggressiveness' by virtue of which they could win approval of the State authorities in their favour. Pettigrew was not unaware of this missionary enterprise and so he did not leave the matter as it was. Having failed to obtain permission he again requested to Mr. A. Porteous, the officiating Political Agent in Manipur who hold office after Maxwell had taken leave. Porteous was on friendly terms with Pettigrew who succeeded in impressing the officiating Political Agent to grant him permission for entry into the State and start a school in the capital of Manipur. Porteous was not actually aware of the fact that such permission had to be officially granted in consultation with the higher authorities of Assam. Although objections followed when the matter came upto the knowledge of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the missionary's nationality undoubtedly served him well, for no American would have been given permission to enter Manipur by the Political Agent for any other reason.

On the invitation of Mr. Porteous, Pettigrew started from Silchar and arrived at Manipur in the early part of 1894. His entry into the State was solely dependent on the personal invitation of the officiating Political Agent. Since Pettigrew's main object was the propagation of Christianity in Manipur, he immediately requested Mr. Porteous to grant him some plot of land for the construction of a Mission Compound. In March 1894, Mr. Porteous recorded in his Diary:

> On the 23rd March I accompanied Mr. Pettigrew, Missionary, who has recently come to Manipur to select place for a Mission Compound. Could find no suitable site except the waste ground at North-West corner of *Pat*. Proposed that he should apply for this, to which he agreed.[7]

Accordingly, Pettigrew sent in an application to Mr. Proteous in April 1894. He requested for a piece of land at

the North-West angle of the *Pat* and outside of it, bounded on the East by the road which bordered the Western moat of the *Pat*, on the West by the ditch at foot of the high embankment of the *Naga Nala*, on the South by a village pathway, and on the North by the 'nala' draining the Northern and Western moats of the *Pat*, for the purpose of building the premises of the Manipur Mission (Protestant). The proposed site of the Manipur Mission premises covered a whole area of about three acres.

When the question of leasing the proposed site for the Manipur Mission was put forward, the Political Agent could not dispose of the matter at his personal level, and he therefore referred the matter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam on 25th June 1894. He wanted to know if there would be any objection to granting such a lease to a European British subject in a native State like Manipur. The Political Agent was unaware of any objection to the lease of the land in question excepting that it might possibly be required to be taken up as piece of the future Cantonment of Manipur. He requested the Chief Commissioner to urge and move the Government of India the long pending question of the British Cantonment to be finally settled immediately. Regarding the proposed site of the Manipur Mission, the Political Agent was of opinion that until the limits of the Cantonment were finally settled and the tract selected made over which would have to be done by a formal document to the Government of India there could be no security on that boundary. Because the new Reserved Land or new State Offices which were likely to be erected close to the *Pat* might not be built on land wanted for the Cantonment. Moreover, the question of having a clear zone round the *Pat* had been recently leased by the military authorities after the outbreak of the 1891 Anglo-Manipur war and such a zone naturally included the old Residency compound.

While staying at Imphal Pettigrew devoted most of his time in writing. One of his important writings in Manipuri toward a better development of style and presentation of the language was printed in 1894. It was on the principal techniques of Christianity (*Warum Asi Mun-na Wakhal Tou*) published from Calcutta. He also made necessary prepara-

tions for the advancement of education and literacy among the plains people. Education itself was a problem among the Manipuri children. Most of the native population did not possess a taste for the western education and they found it extremely difficult to adapt themselves to the new ideas and ways of life brought in by the British officers. The high officials of Manipur were all uneducated, and special privileges for the higher posts were offered mostly to the royal relatives who were illiterate. Being anxious to spread an idea of the western education through which he intended to propagate Christianity Pettigrew invited private tuitions from the children of the Government officials. It was one of the popular methods adopted by the missionaries in winning the hearts of the State authorities. Conspicuous instances are given in the story of the Rajputana Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland by Rev. Dr. Robson. When Dr. Shepherd arrived in Udaipur, he was obliged to live in tents, and even for the hot season and the rains, he could only get an open corridor to meet his patients. The favourite courtier of the Rana was bitterly opposed to him, but the daughter of this minister fell ill, and he was obliged to call in Dr. Shepherd, who treated the case successfully and so won the father's heart. He said to the Doctor shortly afterwards. "I was opposed to the coming of your Mission, and so were many others, but now, if you were wishing to go, we would not let you leave".[8] Like the medical missionaries who frequently opened the way, obtaining a house or a building site for their Mission in return for some service of their professional skill Pettigrew also tried to obtain permission from the British authorities by imparting knowledge and western education among the illiterate Manipuris.

Pettigrew was not unaware of the fact that preaching of the Gospel among the Hindu Manipuris would require permission, and he accordingly met the Political Agent on 8th July 1894. His original intention was to preach the Gospel at the large daily bazar held just in front of the *Pat*. The interview of the Political Agent with the missionary was duly reported to the Chief Commissioner of Assam at Shillong. In the meeting Pettigrew was expressly told that his action would probably disperse the *Pat*, and hence permission could not be granted.

On the day of Maxwell's arrival at Imphal after his temporary leave, a certain Manipuri told him that the Government had sent a Sahib to teach them western education and that the Sahib had also opened a school with an attendance of 80 boys. The Political Agent afterwards learnt that Pettigrew was the gentleman referred to by the Manipuri reporter, and the school was named after the missionary himself, viz., Pettigrew Lower Primary School. Maxwell found that in respect to opening this school the gentleman was doing good work, but as Superintendent of the State, Maxwell felt himself doubtful whether necessary license would be given to Pettigrew to wage war against the State religion, i.e., Hinduism.

During the period of the Raja's minority while the State was under the management of the British Government slight disaffection would have caused by the religious aims of Pettigrew and colleagues, for though Pettigrew was single handed at that time he prepared to call another gentleman of the same Mission to assist him in the Manipur Mission field. Since most of the Manipuris hold to the tenets of the Hindu religion bordering in fact almost to fanaticism, the Political Agent could easily conceive the trouble which would arise as soon as the Raja of Manipur was placed in charge of his State on reaching manhood.

In December 1893, Pettigrew had applied to Maxwell's predecessor Mr. A. Porteous for a permission to come to Manipur as a missionary, and the latter had given his consent by recommending him to work among the hill tribes and not among the valley population. But after having arrived at Manipur Pettigrew thought that his call was among the valley people and naturally he was anxious to work among them. Of course without the previous sanction of the Local Government the missionary would not have been permitted to come to Manipur. But since Pettigrew had already been inside the State the Political Agent now recommended that he should work among the hill tribes and take up his abode with them. Pettigrew was also informed that the State authorities could not guarantee his safe conduct and if he did not wish to accept these proposals which was unlikely, Maxwell thought that he would be ordered to leave

the State and any expenses incurred in coming to Manipur would be repaid to him. The hill tribes, on the other hand, were likely to accept the missionary with less dread than others, as because the Tangkhuls were particularly a quiet and well behaved people. According to the Political Agent, if Pettigrew had worked among this tribe he might meet with much success and could live among them with greater security than with the Kukis, Kabuis or the Angami Nagas etc.

Every movement or deliberate actions on the part of the missionary were reported to the Chief Commissioner of Assam whose judgement and orders were taken as final. The preaching of the Gospel by Pettigrew at the daily bazar held in front of the *Pat* had raised the general question of his Mission work among the plains population of Manipur. The Chief Commissioner of Assam was of opinion that his duty to the minor Raja of Manipur precluded him from sanctioning Pettigrew's application or from permitting him to work as a missionary amongst the plains population of Manipur. Mr. Ward, the Chief Commissioner, gave his reasons of denial on the grant of permission to the missionary in his letter of 12th November 1894, addressed to the Political Agent of Manipur.

Mr. Ward was however reluctant to adopt any course which would interfere with what appeared to be on the face of it and according to his ideas a good work; but there were certain considerations in connection with this case to which due weight had to be given and which might necessarily affected the decision arrived at. For instance, he had to pay due regard for the interests of the minor Raja, keeping in view his ultimate installation on the *gaddi* and the condition of affairs which would exist in the State when that installation took place. Mr. Ward had thus to consider the stand-point from which the Raja, on attaining manhood and maturity of judgement, would look upon the proposal to introduce Christianity among a population so rigidly Hindu in its tenets as the Manipuris.[9]

In fact Mr. Ward had encouraged Pettigrew in his missionary enterprise in a field of work where the above objections did not apply to the same extent. He recognised the good work already done by other missionaries among the

animistic hill tribes under Assam administration, and therefore, he was willing to approve the recommendation and acceptance of Pettigrew to work among the Tangkhul tribe. But Pettigrew was distinctly warned that he would go among the tribe at his own risk and neither the Local Government nor the Manipur State would accept any responsibility for his treatment by them. If he still wanted to remain in Manipur on these terms the Political Agent was instructed by Mr. Ward to require him to give an undertaking. In the event of the missionary's failure to observe any of the above conditions he had to be requested to leave the State. Mr. Ward also emphasised that in future, permission to missionaries should not be granted without his previous sanction.

The wishes of the Chief Commissioner were conveyed to Pettigrew on 21st November 1894, and he was instructed to limit his missionary enterprise to the Tangkhul hill tribe only to the east of Manipur. Maxwell further conveyed to the missionary that it would be his duty to assist Pettigrew in introducing education among the Tangkhuls. If Pettigrew had a desire to undertake the training of the hill people, Maxwell officially announced that he would place at the missionary's disposal for this purpose a sum annually, the amount of which had to be settled later on from the funds of the Manipur State. Pettigrew's original plan of preaching the Gospel among the plains population had been shattered by a further notification of the Political Agent on 11th December 1894:

> Under instructions of the Local Government I have the honour to inform you that owing to the Manipur State being administered on behalf of the minor Raja no missionary of any denomination intending to work in the State territory can be admitted into Manipur without the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam.[10]

As a mark of loyalty and a faithful British subject, Pettigrew had to leave his work in Imphal; and in obedience to the order of the higher authority he now intended to start his preaching among the hill tribes to the east of Manipur. But before he left the capital he determined to make a firm foundation of his little school, more particularly for the interest of the young children. Without an order of the State authorities he made correspondence with J. Wilson, who was then the Director of Public Instruction in Assam.

Actually he received no written permission from the Political Agent of Manipur to the effect that he must, on behalf of the Manipur Administration, see in detail the various programmes specially framed for the conduct of examinations in the Primary Schools of Manipur. Pettigrew had already started to look after the upkeep of the Primary School, and on many occasions he paid personal visits to inspect the running conditions of the small institutions. It was mainly through his efforts that the first Lower Primary Examination was allowed to be held at Manipur during December 1895 under the arrangement of the Political Agent. The previous delay on the supply of educational forms for the use of the Johnstone School, syllabus for the studies of the Middle Examination, copies of the printed rules for conducting the Middle Examination and the list of School Holidays etc., which had been formerly supplied by the Director of Public Instruction, were immediately removed by Pettigrew.

During the last part of 1895, Pettigrew finally decided to start missionary work among the Tangkhuls to the east of the valley. In Maxwell's Diary of 9th October 1895, the above intention of the missionary was recorded and an interesting remark was also put down by the Political Agent - 'Mr. Pettigrew has a thorough knowledge of the Manipuri language, which nearly all Tangkhuls speak, and should get on well among them'.[11]

In December of the year Pettigrew had gone to attend the American Baptist Assembly held at Sibsagar, and he wrote to Maxwell that the Mission had accepted him as a worker in the Field and there was no objection to his proceeding to the Tangkhul hills. The Political Agent even hoped to open some schools under the missionary's supervision among the hill tribes of Manipur. Upto this time Pettigrew did not succeed in securing a Mistress for the Manipur Girl's School. The School-House was of course ready and the State officials offered 7/-a month salary to the Mistress, 1/-per month to a servant and house free, and yet they found great difficulty in getting what they want several times.[12]

The above mentioned Conference at Sibsagar was the Fourth Triennial conference of the missionaries of the 'A.B.M. Union' in Assam, held from 15th to 22nd December

1895. Including wives of missionaries and single ladies, 32 missionaries of the American Baptist Mission Union were present. In the Conference Rev. C. D. King was elected Chairman and Revs. E. G. Phillips and F. P. Haggard acted as Clerks.

Prior to this Conference, Pettigrew of the Arthington Aborigines Mission had already applied some months ago to join the American Baptist Mission Union. His application was however referred back to the missionaries in Assam for a consideration and recommendation. Most of the Sundays, during the Conference, was given to the consideration of his case, and the Conference unanimously and enthusiastically recommended that he and his work in the Manipur State would be taken up by their Society since Manipur was on their direct route between Assam and Burma, and they had wanted to see Mission work taken up in Manipur. The American Baptist Mission Union thought it a Providential opportunity.[13] On the last day of the Conference i.e., on Sunday the 22nd December 1895, at 2.30 p.m. one Carvell and Pettigrew were ordained. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Firth from *Acts* XIII. 47, pointing out they were commissioned to be 'a light of the Gentiles' and 'for salvation unto the uttermost part of the earth'.

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9. Letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Political Agent and Superintendent of the State, No. 81, Reg. 7195-J, dated Shillong the 12th November 1894.

10. Notification No. 806, dated Manipur the 11th December 1894, addressed to Rev. W. Pettigrew, Missionary, Manipur.
11. See Diary : Maxwell, Political Agent and Superintendent of the State, No. 41 of 9th October 1895.
12. See Diary : Maxwell, for the week ending Saturday the 4th January 1896; and see Diary : dated Monday the 30th December 1895.
13. Jessie T. Moore, *Twenty Years in Assam* or *Leaves from My Journal*, edited by Mrs. P. H. Moore (1901), p. 137.

FIVE

William Pettigrew among the Tangkhuls

After having rejected his request to work among the Manipuris, Pettigrew was finally instructed to make his preaching among the Tangkhul Nagas which he gladly accepted with the hope that in near future chances would come to associate with the Hindu Manipuris. He therefore selected his field among the Tangkhul tribe and in early March 1896, he left Imphal to settle in the hills. His shifting from the capital to the east of Manipur was officially reported to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The Political Agent however knew that the hill-men were averse to the missionary's working among them, and they were pursuing the Irish tactics of boycotting him in the hope of driving the missionary from the country.[1]

One of Pettigrew's first tasks was to find out the best place in regard to climate, drinking water and various other things necessary for carrying out his work. In his search for a suitable location he came first to Ukhrul and went as far as Paoyi to the north; and on his return from Paoyi he came upto Shiroi mountain and further to Khangkoi.[2] Having wandered through some of the neighbouring villages he finally came back to Ukhrul and decided it to be the best suitable place for his missionary work.

Pettigrew first came as a missionary of the Arthington Aborigines Mission, but in February 1896, he changed his faith to that of the American Baptist Mission. When he decided to settle and work among the Tangkhul Nagas to the east of Manipur, the Arthington Mission was no longer in a position to support his work. The Assam Mission Records indicate that the Missionary Union took over the Manipur

field from the Arthington Mission on 1st February 1896. Moreover, the Arthington Mission did not employ married missionaries. Pettigrew probably contacted the American rather than the British Mission because of his views on baptism and possibly because it was working among the Nagas also. In any event he was invited to attend the Missionary Conference at Sibsagar in December 1895. A special Committee appointed to examine him recommended that the Missionary Union should be asked to take him on. Pending confirmation by the Home Board, he was accepted into membership of the Sibsagar Church and ordained. In January his appointment was confirmed.[3]

Life at Ukhrul, in the first place, was found rough and very hard to drag on. In spite of the difficulties Pettigrew had other problems in hand– a social upliftment, education and the work of proselytisation among the Tangkhul Nagas were more prominent than to accept the day-to-day living. One of the tasks that Pettigrew ever tried to improve was in the field of postal service. It seemed that, before the missionary came to Ukhrul there was no postal service for the whole Tangkhul community upto the early parts of 1896. Pettigrew had very repeatedly mentioned this deficiency and implored for an improvement programme to Colonel Maxwell. He reported to the Political Agent that owing to the extra amount of work the Tangkhuls were put to the construction of his Mission bungalow, he found it a great difficulty to procure Nagas to carry the mails as already suggested by Maxwell. Upto April 1896, Pettigrew had to use to send once a week an Ukhrul man who did the journey in four days. He suggested that he would like to have the mail twice a week but if the Political Agent could manage to run the dak twice a week from Imphal to Ukhrul using Sukpao as a middle station, he could act as the Post Master and deliver letters for Khangkoi, Lambu and Paoyi, thereby charging the State for his services of mails delivery.

Meanwhile the construction of his Mission bungalow was getting on first rate and he hoped to occupy it in the month of April 1896. Pettigrew wanted to consult with Maxwell upon several matters and so he invited the Political Agent to visit and see the construction in May. He laboured

hard to erect the bungalow in the dense forest of the Tangkhul Nagas by just erection a tent-hunt under the shade of the ancient trees. The branches wrapped it most uncomfortably and sunshine was rarely felt. Not content with living in the shadows he soon cleared away the trees and built a glistening white-washed house. While his home was a small tent-hut people paid no heed, but when his new house stood in the sunshine it attracted the gaze of the people more than all the houses of the hills.[4]

For the first time in Manipur a Lower Primary School for girls was opened in 1896. But the Head Master of the Johnstone School informed the missionary that no girls had turned up at the school upto the first week of April 1896, and the Chowkidar also said no girl ever wished to come. For this Pettigrew wanted Colonel Maxwell to take up something in the matter and if there was no likelihood of the girls wishing to be taught, the missionary even suggested opening of that school for the boys living to the north or south west of the capital. The failure was not improbably due to the rumour, started by malignity and disseminated by stupidity, that as soon as the girls were satisfactorily taught to read, write and speak English, they were to be shipped off to England where there was said to be a scarcity off marriageable women.[5] It was wrongly believed among the Manipuris that the Government officers both civil and military then serving in Manipur were not at all married.

One month after his settlement at Ukhrul, Pettigrew applied to the Political Agent of Manipur to grant him a license to solemnise marriages under Section 6, Act XV of 1872 as also to authorise him to grant certificates of marriages between native Christians under Section 9 of the same Act within the limit of the Manipur State. He also felt anxious to be appointed under Section 7 of the same Act a Marriage Registrar for the Manipur State. Keeping in touch with the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Maxwell reported the above requests of the missionary, and on 24th April 1896, he received back information that Pettigrew had lately been ordained according to the rites of the American Baptist Church and thus joined the American Baptist Society as a missionary with a view to work among the Tangkhul Nagas

of Manipur. Instead of giving an immediate response to the requests of the missionary, the Chief Commissioner again asked the Political Agent of Manipur, about the conditions necessary to impose on Pettigrew before allowing him to work among the Tangkhuls; and whether the Political Agent had Pettigrew's acceptance of them in writing or not. After a few weeks of the enquiry made by the Political Agent of Manipur, the officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam wrote that Act XV of 1872 applied only to British India, and to Christian subjects of Her Majesty in Native States, and as it had already been decided that Pettigrew's work would be confined to the Tanghkul Nagas who were not Christians or subjects of Her Majesty and whose country was not included in British India, the Chief Commissioner was unable to grant Pettigrew the above-mentioned licenses recommended by the Political Agent of Manipur.[6]

Upto this time Pettigrew had not actually started education or missionary work among the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur. His main object was to create a very good impression on the State authorities through education of the young children in the capital. He did not stop to keep correspondences with his friends outside Manipur to find and send a lady teacher for the girls' school at Moirangkhom. Actually the girls' school was ready for occupation at the end of 1894-95, but still all attempts to secure a Mistress had failed. Because the name of Manipur was too closely connected with the sad disaster of 1891 to be readily forgotten. Bengalis who were eager to obtain posts in Manipur came as far as Jirighat with the utmost despatch, but then constitutional disturbances occurred, and they returned home.[7]

The Johnstone Middle English School was in its prime in 1896. A good number of students came and tried for admission but early in January, an overflaw made the school administration confused and therefore an arrangement was made to give proper attention to the teaching of the young children. Students belonging to the Lower Primary classes were shifted to the Lower Primary Schools at Pettigrew, Tera and Thangmeiband, and thus only 53 students who belonged to the Middle English standard remained at

Johnstone. The former Head Master of the Johnstone School retired in March 1895, and in his place Pettigrew acted as the Honorary Head Master from April to June until the arrival of the new Head Master Babu Maheshwar Das who was appointed to the post on 1st July 1895.[8] Maheshwar Das was one of the earliest Manipuri writers who wrote three Manipuri Primer and Word Books: *Sisusiksha Prathama Bhag, Dwitiya Bhag* and *Tritiya Bhag - gi Artha Lairik*, all published in 1896, 1896 and 1897 respectively. This interim arrangement of the School for three months had certainly created a good impression upon the State officials of Manipur. However, education in Manipur was not the sole concern of Pettigrew since this qualification was required only to pave a way to conversions through western atmosphere. Pettigrew also knew the fact that the Tangkhul tribe would not easily accept a foreign religion without obtaining a good knowledge of western education. Upto the time Pettigrew selected Ukhrul for his permanent stay, communication was a problem and the mails were delayed for many days. He had to come down to Imphal every now and then and complain about the backwardness in the mails delivery. He had no house in the capital to stay during his visits but somehow he was permitted by the State authorities to make himself convenient for temporary stay at the Imphal Dak Bungalow.

In June 1896, Pettigrew came down from Ukhrul and suggested some plans to Colonel Maxwell regarding the prevention of and delay in the mail service during the rainy season. He proposed that orders might be issued to the villagers at Hundung and Nunsang to make bridges across the rivers at some places where needed. He wanted the Political Agent to make arrangement for the carrying of mail-bag before he left Imphal and thus to enable him to give instructions to the villages concerned. He realised that it was mainly through his efforts that an amount of Rs. 1,000 was included in the budget of the year 1896 for the constructions of a school house in the Tangkhul hills. As regards the location of the school Pettigrew suggested an area near Ukhrul and in building a decent school house he requested to avail his own personal instructions. There was a suitable place on the saddle of the mountain which could be levelled

off to make a small maidan and Pettigrew wanted to make a tank close by. He had no idea what the cost would be to carry out the above, but considering his bungalow and the earth-work around it which cost him about Rs. 400 odd, he requested to place an amount in his hands if the Political Agent wanted to have the work done under his supervision. As there was little likelihood of any other schools being built in other villages for years to come, Pettigrew thought that a substantial affair at Ukhrul would serve the purpose. In fact he intended to use the school building for religious purposes.

Pettigrew's other complaint was that the headmen of the Ukhrul villages had refused to bring in supplies of food and drinking water for him. They had been previously ordered by the Political Agent to keep a steady supply of food for the missionary. Notwithstanding the punishment given to the chief-men at Ukhrul, there was still dissension, and being on the spot Pettigrew found that one Maishan– a brother of Lallo was the ringleader. On his way back to Ukhrul from Imphal if there were still ill feelings, Pettigrew wanted to know if he might call the Police or Lambu to arrest the ringleaders.

In spite of the complaints forwarded to the Political Agent, Maxwell could find no runners who seemed willing to carry the mails betweem Imphal and Ukhrul and he therefore left the matter in Pettigrew's hands to make the best arrangement possible. Maxwell agreed to sanction a subsidy of Rs. 30 monthly from the funds of the Manipur State towards the upkeep of the post provided Pettigrew agreed to act as the Post Master for the people of the neighbourhood and the Police outposts in the Tangkhul area. He had to accept letters for the post when delivered at his bungalow and to make them over the addressee when called for.

Regarding the dissensions, Maxwell said that he did not wish Pettigrew to interfere again the private matters of the Tangkhuls. They could even come to Imphal and place their complaints before the concerned authority. This advice was given to the missionary as because his residence at Ukhrul was in no way the wish of the people, who if asked would possibly unanimously voted for Pettigrew's retirement, and

also the State authorities could not hold itself responsible for his personal safety or for the security of his and the Mission's property. Under these circumstances the Tangkhuls could not be compelled to bring him supplies of food. The Political Agent however felt it incumbent on him to assist the missionary in procuring supplies but Pettigrew was formally informed that he would have to endeavour in the future to obtain supplies from the valley if the hill-men continued averse to selling him articles of food.

As a matter of fact, the State authorities of Manipur had never encouraged missionary activities; neither the Maharaja of Manipur had desires to uplift Christianity among his Hindu population. The American Baptist Mission had deputed Pettigrew to the Tangkhul hills without a desire on the part of the people to receive him or without a wish of the Manipur State for his services in its territory. He simply came as a volunteer in a good cause and to that extent the Political Agent of Manipur felt in incumbent on him to assist the missionary in securing a footing at Ukhrul. After he obtained that footing and a residence at Ukhrul, the Political Agent simply informed him that he could only assist the missionary in promoting education in the hills and in the improvement of communications between the valley and Ukhrul. Maxwell was ready to issue orders on the Nagas to build a school house on payment at Ukhrul at any site the missionary might select under his supervision, and for this purpose he promised to sanction a sum of Rs. 400. The Political Agent did not object to the proposal of the building being used for religious services out of school houses. He also agreed that the required bridge would be constructed as soon as the hillmen had finished their cultivation.

While staying at the Imphal Dak Bangalow for three weeks from the end of June upto the middle of the next month in 1896, to finalise the problems arising out of his settlement at Ukhrul and the progress of education in the valley, Pettigrew had examined all the valley schools except Foiching L. P. School and in his report he mentioned that there was fair progress for the past few months. Upto this time no girl students came for admission and also a lady teacher could not be secured which naturally led to the closing of the Girls' School at Moirangkhom.

The first Lower Primary Examination was conducted in Manipur during the month of December 1896, and out of 75 boys hardly 18 students appeared. Eight boys came out successful with one first class. This boy was awarded a stipend of Rs. 3 for two years. Pettigrew set the examination papers for this, and on his request examiners were appointed from among the educated officials in Manipur. He had visited Khurai L. P. School and Tera Keithen L. P. School during his stay in Imphal and he suggested many valuable programmes of improvement to the Political Agent. One of the main reasons why Pettigrew felt very keen on the upliftment of education was with regard to his new position towards all the schools in the valley. He wanted to procure a written order from the Political Agent to his appointment to the post of the Honorary Inspector of Schools, so that there might not be any misunderstanding in the future.

The villagers at Ukhrul had finished their rice cultivation by the end of July 1896, and therefore, Pettigrew wanted to start the earth-work of the proposed school by the 1st of August. He requested the Political Agent to forward an amount of Rs. 200 through a *Lambu* with instructions to the *Khullakpa* of Ukhrul to put at least 50 men at his disposal until the work was finished. The dak was however very irregular and having failed to receive his mails at scheduled time Pettigrew had tried another experiment which cost him Rs. 30 for the maintenance of a proper mail service from Imphal to Ukhrul.

Pettigrew's expectation of holding the post of an Honorary Inspector of Schools was duly fulfilled in July, 1896, when Maxwell wrote a letter to the missionary on 14th of the month stating that he would be very pleased if Pettigrew would consider himself as an Honorary Inspector of Schools throughout the Manipur State.[9] As regards the proposals to hold the Lower Primary Examination in Manipur for the first time in December 1896, the Political Agent was quite agreeable and he was glad to learn that Pettigrew would set the necessary papers and arrange for a smooth conduct of the Examination. Pettigrew's report on the rapid progress of the valley schools was very satisfactory and Maxwell felt happy on the personal interest, sacrifice and hard labour

rendered by the missionary for the upliftment of education in Manipur as a whole.

Pettigrew did not actually formulate any new system of education in Manipur. He followed closely the prevalent methods officially prescribed by the Local Government. It was under the same syllabus recognised by the Assam Administration that books were translated into Manipuri for courses in the Lower and Upper Primary standards. Pettigrew was the only responsible official who had to conduct and arrange the whole administrative system of education in the State, and it was under his Chief Editorship that a good number of Manipuri books were translated from either Sanskrit or Bengali. Until the establishment of a separate Education Standing Committee in Manipur, the whole machinery of education in the State followed the Assam pattern under supervision of the Calcutta University.

The Education Department was controlled by the Director of Public Instruction, who was assisted by five Deputy Inspectors and 23 Sub-Inspectors of Schools. The Sub-Inspectors were employed chiefly in the inspection of Primary Schools, while the Deputy Inspectors inspected both Middle and Primary Schools, and, as a general rule the Director reserved to himself the inspection of Arts Colleges, High Schools, and training and technical schools. Inspecting officers of a lower grade, called Inspecting Pandits were employed by certain Local Boards in the inspection of Lower Primary Schools.

The schools imparting general education which were recognised by the Education Department were divided into three main classes, viz., High, Middle and Primary Schools. The course of instruction in each of these classes of schools was complete in itself, and independent of any of the other classes. The class of Middle Schools comprised of two sub-classes – Middle English and Middle Vernacular; and the Primary class was also divided into Upper Primary and Lower Primary Schools. The High Schools were those institutions which were recognised by the Calcutta University as capable of affording suitable preparation for the Entrance Examination. In these schools boys were taught from the earliest stage of their education upto the Entrance standard.

The course of instruction at Middle English and Middle Vernacular Schools was the same, with the exception that English was taught in the former and not in the latter. The following were the subjects taught in the Middle Vernacular course:

I. Bengali or Assamese, comprising literature, grammar and composition. (In case of Manipur the subjects mentioned in the vernacular course were, in good numbers, printed in Manipuri language, although some of the Bengali texts were also prescribed for study).

II. History of India, Hindu, Muhammadan and English periods.

III. Geography, a general knowledge of the four quarters of the globe, with special knowledge of that of India, and map-drawing.

IV. Arithmatic, general bazar and zamindari accounts and mental arithmatic.

V. *Elements of Euclid* (Book I), mensuration of plane surfaces and surveying.

VI. Sanitary Science.

VII. Elements of Natural Philosophy or of Natural Science.

The Upper Primary Schools gave instruction somewhat more advanced than that of the Lower Primary course. It included part of Book I of Euclid as well as Mensuration, the History of Assam or Bengal, Geography, and the elements of sanitation and agriculture. The Lower Primary Schools or Pathsalas, were those in which the most elementary instruction was provided in the vernacular. The subjects of the course included:

I. (a) Handwriting and dictation.

(b) Easy questions in grammar and explanations from vernacular text books.

II. Arithmatic, the first four rules, simple and compound, after the European method; practice, simple and compound, after the native method; and mental arithmatic, native and European methods, on the above rules.

III. Zamindari or mauzadari and mahajani accounts,

and simple mensuration after the native method.

It included a sanitary primer, and a book containing some simple lessons in elementary science.

The most successful institution for technical instruction in the whole Assam Province was the Berry-White Medical School, which was opened in 1900 only. It taught upto the civil hospital assistant standard, and the course occupying four years. This school was established with the help of a legacy left by Brigade Surgeon Berry-White, and was maintained by the Government. Many students from Manipur who had passed Entrance Examination admitted into this School to undergo medical training.

There were three Survey Schools in Assam for the training of *mandals* and *patwaris*, which were controlled by the Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture.

The Tols, Maktabs and Madrasas were not subject to departmental inspection, and had not adopted departmental standards of instruction. They were for the most part religious in their character, and they presented no pupils at the ordinary departmental examination. In the Tols instruction was given in the Sanskrit language and literature, and in the various systems of Hindu philosophy (darsana). In the Madrasas and Maktabs, the Arabic and Persian languages and Muhammadan law were taught, and the *Koran* was learnt in the lower classes.[10]

Pettigrew was fully equipped with a knowledge of the educational system, and he made frequent correspondence with the Director of the Public Instruction in Assam in order to maintain an upkeep of recent developments and other various programmes. He demanded no remunerations from the Manipur State, except his travelling expenses to Manipur valley for quarterly inspection of schools. As a token of reward and mark of loyalty to the British authorities, Colonel Maxwell wrote to Pettigrew on 21st July 1896, that although he had no authority to grant a license to marry native Christians he recommended the missionary without further question to marry any such persons intimating to him a wish to marry them. When Pettigrew came down from Ukhrul

during September 1896, he reported to the Political Agent that the new School house and the Mission buildings were nearly completed, and the Tangkhul Nagas were now on friendly terms with him and his work.[11] In the next month Pettigrew went to Calcutta and got married with one Alice Goreham on 13th November 1896. Miss Goreham came out from England with Rev. and Mrs. M. C. Mason, who were returning to Assam.[12] After marriage Pettigrew and his bride came back to Ukhrul where they planned to start their long and perilous missionary activities among the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur.

When the Pettigrews came back to Ukhrul the social climate had undergone a radical change. The Tangkhul Nagas were up in arms against the spread of Christianity and the parents refused to send their children to school on the plea that they were in danger of being converted to Christianity. Once during a festival day of the Tangkhuls all the students were absent from School and in order to give a sort of punishment Pettigrew confined them to school all through the next day. This made the Ukhrul villagers angry and they came out with spears and axes to kill the missionary and his wife. They locked themselves inside their house and remained for some time while the angry villagers surrounded the house and performed a war dance. After some hours of patient waiting the angry crowd had dispersed one by one thus leaving the missionary without a physical hurt.[13]

The Tangkhuls created more troubles to cause inconvenience to the missionary and his wife. Even Raihao, the Chief of Ukhrul had refused to present himself as an interpreter to Pettigrew. In spite of repeated requests to allow at least 20 students from Ukhrul and 10 from Hundung to attend the newly established school, the Tangkhuls still refused to sent out their children. They believed that God had once given wisdom to them like other communities; and their original script which was supposed to have written on animal hides had been taken away by a dog which in consequence led to their mass illiteracy and thus caused a hopeless and eternal loss of all their chances for learning.

Below the Ukhrul village the new Mission house was a prominent feature. In front of this was the school house and

a rest-house too, combined in one building where Pettigrew met Captain H. W. G. Cole the officiating Political Agent of Manipur, on his arrival at Ukhrul towards the Somra Tract. Captain Cole recorded the following in his Diary of 4th February 1897:

> It appears that a certain faction of Ukhrul are opposed to allowing their children to attend the school, on the grounds that it is against Naga custom to educate children. But this must always be the case when a school is first opened amongst savages; and if reasons of this kind were allowed to hold good, civilisation would make but little progress. I told the village elders that they should not prevent their children from attending. The Tangkhuls have little or no religion of their own, and I have no doubt but that in course of time missionary enterprise will bear the same results among them as it already has amongst the Khasis. In any case, they afford a better field than the Manipuris, amongst whom Mr. Pettigrew originally intended to work.[14]

Actually Pettigrew had a great desire to extend and cover the whole of the Somra Tract within his missionary activities. But the State authorities of Manipur had refused to grant him permission for entry into the Tract on the ground that the boundary between Manipur and Somra did not have a clear-cut demarcation. The following account would highlight the undefined territory of Somra which in future was made an important missionary centre under the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.

In the last part of 1896, a party of men belonging to Somra Khulel had raided Shoraphungbi a small village of only 15 houses lying in the north-east corner of the Manipur State and some eight or nine days journey from the capital. On receipt of the news Colonel Maxwell at once sent the Manipur Subedar of the *Lum* or Hill Division to make enquiries as to the truth and details of the occurrence. The Subedar returned to Manipur in December bringing with him two men of the raided village from whose statement it appeared that at about 10 a.m. one morning when the majority of the men of the village were absent at work in the fields a party of 30 men of Somra Khulel armed with spears attacked the village and killed four persons, of whom three were women, and took away two heads, with one man severally wounded.

No reason could be ascertained for the outrage but it was alleged that the two villages were on bad terms during

the Raja's time. The story narrated to Captain Cole by the Somra people was that the raid was undertaken because they suspected that the Shoraphungbi men had poisoned one of the Somra men when passing through the village – or rather that they had caused him to be possessed by an evil spirit which eventually caused his decease.

Since 1891, there had never been any desire on the part of the State to put forward any claims to Somra which had been definitely decided to be outside the Manipur boundary and an independent territory. Somra was the principal village of the group of Tangkhul villages known as the Somra Group. The last occassion when it was visited from Manipur was by Lieutenant A. A. Howell who were there with an escort of 70 men of the 43rd Gurkha Rifles and 25 men of the Naga Hills Military Police Battalion--under Lieutenant S. Clay, in 1891, to enquire into a raid made on Somra by the village of Poi. In 1894, in consequence of raids made on certain villages in Burma territory, Somra together with two other villages in the group was destroyed under the orders of Mr. Porter, the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin District.

It was an accepted rule that so long as Manipur continued to be administered by British officers, the Province or State raided on would exact retribution. But whatever the wrong might have been under which the people of Somra laboured, retribution for it was slow in coming, for it was candidly admitted that the demise of the unfortunate bewitched one had taken place some six or seven years ago. It was more probable that the main incentive to Somra was the fact that Shoraphungbi a small village incapable of resistance offered a good opportunity for a fair number of victims, at a minimum of risks.

On receipt of the Subedar's report Captain Cole at once communicated with Colonel Maxwell who had already proceeded on privilege leave for two and half months. After hearing from Maxwell as to the measures to be taken against the offending village, on 18th December 1896, Captain Cole immediately submitted for the Chief Commissioner's approval. The Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner of Assam issued an order to the effect that Captain Cole might proceed to Somra with a force of 200 men composed of 150

men from the Regiment at Manipur, and 50 of the State Police. This order was also referred at once to the Government of India.

Captain Cole along with his party arrived at Ukhrul in the last week of December 1896. Four miles from Ukhrul, Hundung was passed. Hundung and its subordinate villages contained some 230 houses, and on his way through he arranged that the village should supply 100 coolies to accompany the column to Somra. He took another 100 coolies from Ukhrul - his object in utilizing these large villages comparatively close to Manipur for the supply of the coolies for their force was that on account both of their importance and distance from Somra, the men were less likely to attempt to bolt when approaching the enemy than the coolies from smaller villages lying further north who hold Somra in some dread.

The main object of the expedition was the punishment of the village of Somra Khulel if it refused to deliver up the persons implicated in the recent raid. This object was fully accomplished and fortunately without any bloodshed. The heads taken in the raid were recovered and returned to the relatives of the victims. Three of the raiders were also arrested. The punishment of the village had, no doubt, been very severe. The destruction of the newly built village within three years of its being previously destroyed would alone have been a serious matter for its inhabitants, but accompained, as it had been, by the discovery and destruction of so much hidden property, which they no doubt imagined would be left unearthed, their loss had been very materially increased. This lesson following so closely on the punishment meted out by Burma in 1894, could not fail to impress upon the villages of the Somra Group that any violation of the borders either of Burma or of Manipur met with prompt and severe retribution.

Although the results of the expedition could not fail to have a very salutory effect, Captain Cole thought that he would be the last to claim for them that they would ensure complete immunity from the danger of future raids. Absolute security could not be gained by the establishment of posts dominating the principal villages of the Group. But this

action would practically mean the annexation of the country and Captain Cole expressed his opinion that recent events were not such as to justify any change in the policy of non-interference with these tribes as long as they refrained from raids in the administered areas. The British authorities only hoped that the recent expedition and that of 1894, might act as a sufficient deterrent from outrages for some years to come.

The village of Somra and several of its subordinate villages expressed their willingness to Captain Cole to pay revenue. The smaller villages hailed annexation with pleasure as it would relieve them from the oppression of Somra Khulel and other larger villages. They were astute enough to realise that such relief would be chiefly bought at three rupees for each house per mensem, which was all they had to pay if they came under the Manipur Administration. But apart from the principles laid down by the Government of India, it was not in the interest of the Manipur State to extend its borders in this direction, which would be limited to the point of effective control. Some of the villages inside the Manipur territory were already beyond this point and finally it was decided to be very undesirable to add to their number.

Captain Cole spent some time in the village at Ukhrul and he observed one or two important features of the Tangkhul tribes. Ukhrul was the main centre of the Tangkhul country and the village occupied a very fine position on a wide undulating ridge covered on its lower slopes with the pine forests. Cole imagined that among all the tribes surrounding the Manipur State, the Tangkhuls would prove more amenable to civilising influences than either the Angamis, Kabuis or the Kukis etc.

The Tangkhul houses were like the Angami and the Kabui houses. Some of them were particularly well built and fanciful decorated on the outside with crude representations of men and animals. In the interior of the front chamber of the Head Man's house some 20 human heads on a board suspended from the roof. They were said to have been in the house for years and they certainly looked very old. The women-folk used to weave the red and blue striped Naga clothes worn by the Tangkhuls which found their way into

so many private houses in Assam. With the most primitive materials all of which were supplied by the neighbouring jungles, the Tangkhul house-wife was skilful enough to produce a cotton cloth which in texture, colouring and durability put Manchester to shame.

The village was arranged in streets following the centre of the spurs on each side of which the houses were created. The house was divided into three chambers - the front room which was in reality an enclosed verandah being occupied by cattle in the poorer houses, but in the better buildings it was used as a sort of sitting room in the centre of which stood the inevitable pot of 'Yu' (rice liquor). In the more pretentious houses it was furnished with a long shelf in which were placed eggs, spices, and other odds and ends. The interior room formed kitchen and sleeping room. Poor and rich alike had but one type of bed--a plain plank with a long for a pillow. Separated by a partition but forming part of the principal room was the granary in which the *dhan* was kept in large cylinders of matting. The Tangkhuls fed mainly on rice grown entirely in terrace cultivation. They used to consume large quantities of chillies, and every member of the tribe had a small bamboo bottle of chillies and other spices in dust form of which he took a small pinch after every mouthful of rice.

Captain Cole in his *Report on the Somra Expedition* made a few remarks on the peculiar habitats of the Tangkhuls:

> They eat with relish any kind of flesh either raw, cooked, consuming not only the skin but also the hair. The Tangkhuls near and south of Ukhrul compare favourable as regards their houses, clothing, and general manners of living with other Naga tribes and certainly they enjoy more of the comforts of life than either the Lushais or the Manipuri Kukis. But in respect of their personal cleanliness and state of their surroundings they fall far short of any of the above mentioned people. The filthy state of their villages bafles description and in admiration of the verbiage of a learned medical officer who was forced to confess that the tribe betrayed a lamentable ignorance of the primary elements of personal hygeine. I will confine myself to remarking that this same ignorance is productive of an effluvia as pungent as it is unpalatable.[15]

The Tangkhuls had a curious custom of dipping their children some four or five days after they were born into a

bath of nearly boiling water and this unpleasant first introduction to the tub no doubt engendered the disgust for it so apparent in after life. It was among these wild and undisciplined Naga tribes who inhabited to the east of the Manipur hills that Pettigrew and his newly married wife came to make their permanent settlement and with a determination to take up missionary activities in the coming years.

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SIX

Progress of Education in Manipur

Both in the Angami country and in the Tangkhul hills the Nagas were used for the Public Works Department in repairing the cart-road and in carrying lime. The Tangkhuls of the Ukhrul area, although by no means unsuspicious on the arrival of Pettigrew in their midst, were somewhat less averse to his working among them than they were originally, and the youths of the village started attending the school in the beginning of 1897. Captain Cole was very much struck with the peaceful attitude of the villages in the northern Tangkhul country. Because only in the year 1892, the majority of these villages were at constant war between themselves, and head hunting was of frequent occurrence. But now they appeared to be on good terms, a sure sign of which was that it was very rarely that one saw a man armed in his fields. On the whole, the hill tribes of Manipur were now contended and well behaved, and the occurrences above instanced were but isolated outbursts of savagery among a wild people rapidly becoming amenable to discipline.

The new school at Ukhrul was opened during the last part of 1896, raising the number of schools in the State to nine. Although the Tangkhuls were at first adverse to letting their boys attend the school at Ukhrul, their objections were successfully overcome, and at the beginning of 1897, 21 pupils on the books attended regularly. The success of this school, and indeed, much of the progress of education in the valley, was due to the interest taken in the matter by Pettigrew.[1] Captain Cole wrote in his Diary of 19th February 1897:

> I was glad to hear from Mr. Pettigrew that my words of counsel to the Ukhrul villages had borne fruit, and that some twenty pupils the eldest

of which is aged 40 and the youngest about 7 now attend the State School.

While he was proceeding towards Somra, the counsel referred to above was given by Captain Cole to the Ukhrul villagers to send their children to the State School. As soon as the school was opened, Pettigrew requested the village elders to offer him at least 20 students from Ukhrul and 10 students from Hundung. When the elders had refused to comply with the missionary's request he reported the matter to the Political Agent who in December 1896, came to Ukhrul on his way to Somra. There he met the Chief and some of the village authorities of Ukhrul and Hundung to whom the British officer had threatened to burn down the whole villages if they still refused to give out students to the missionary.

Raihao was the Chief of Ukhrul and he was acknowledged among his community to be one of the rational elders. Pettigrew was somehow on a friendly term with the Chief, and on learning the informal orders of Captain Cole he consulted with the missionary. He even agreed to send 20 boys to the school but he laid the responsibility to induce students on the village elders who either failed or made no real efforts to secure. At last with great difficulty some 20 students were found from the Ukhrul area with Raihao himself, being the leader of this group of students. From the Awungashi area the students admitted into the school were - Raihao, Kuipang, Ramkaiphang, Holei, Maninglum, Kaphungkui, Thisan, Mangaleng, Shangam, Sakhayang and Fasing. From the Kashung Kasom area there were five students - Harming, Heitheng, Yarnao, Khungsan and Sangmayang. From the Vayainao area there were four students–Mapha, Sakho, Pheikho and Yuishi.

Zingthan, another Chief of Hundung also felt that similar demands would be made on him, and he accordingly arranged to send about 10 students from his area. These students were – Haora, Thisa, Makeishai, Luiraphang, Mashokring, Theingai, Ngakapthi, Changkar, Shimkhaye and Thitei. Unfortunately most of the students from Ukhrul and Hundung could not understand Manipuri properly and thus Raihao was made an interpreter. These 30 students were made the first batch.

Pettigrew's manner of working among these savage people had no profitable motive, but it sprang up genuinely from love and compassion. He reasoned with most of the tribal leaders and thus won them over by persuasion and patience. Most of the students were tardy in showing up and there was no guarantee that students attending the school one day would certainly be there the next day. They attended school with big, heavy brass bangles dangling from both wrists, and these were dangerous weapons. In fact they were so heavy that one blow could easily produce fatal wounds. Very often the slates were struck by these brass materials in the course of the work and were broken.

The behaviour of the students was under no one's control. During the course of the study some sat quietly, some lay on benches, some read and other wrestled and sang their national war-songs. At free will they came late and went home early. Pettigrew, however, tried to induce them to keep and maintain a proper behaviour, and as a means of persuasion he used to distribute sweets, religious pictures, clothing and many other curious foreign articles. Only Raihao, the Chief of Ukhrul was allowed to act as he pleased during the class work.

From among the 30, Pettigrew selected two most brilliant students – Hamring and Heitheng of the Kashung Kasom area and he appointed them as teachers of the same batch. Three other students- Kaphungkui, Holei and Thisan of the Awungashi area were appointed Peons in the Hill Office. The teachers were paid ten rupees, and a scholarship of one-half rupees to each student was granted by the Manipur State. As for the Peons rupees ten was fixed in the plains and rupees five in the hill areas.

Although no religious instruction was permitted in the plains schools, copies of the Scripture were distributed to the hill students as parts of literature. Pettigrew believed that this work though time-consuming was a valuable preparation for the moment when preaching could be done openly. His service to the Government also gave him an influence which made the Mission in good stead on a number of occasions. Yet his permanent stay in Manipur was solely dependent upon a good will of the Government. He devoted

more than seven months to bring an imposition of a strict discipline among his wild Tangkhul students. When he saw a normal condition education was again progressed with little satisfaction.

In October 1897, Pettigrew asked the Political Agent of Manipur when it would be possible to have the birth of a child recently born to him registered. Out of this enquiry it became apparent that no Registrar of births and deaths under Section 13 of Act VI of 1886, appeared to have been appointed for the Manipur State, for the registration of births and deaths of British subjects being members of sects, races, or tribes to which the Succession Act of 1865 applied, or of other British subjects professing the Christian religion. There was a fairly numerous colony of Europeans and Eurasians in Manipur, particularly in the P. W. D. and the Telegraph Departments. The Political Agent, therefore, wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Assam that the births and deaths occurring among them should be capable of registration. He also recommended that the Government of India might permit by virtue of his office the Political Agent in Manipur to be Registrar of Births and Deaths for the State of Manipur for the classes of persons referred to in Section II of Act VI of 1886, and that in accordance with the provisions of Section 24, Sub-Section 2 of the said Act, the Registrar-General of Births and Deaths and Marriages for the Province of Assam should appoint the Officer to whom certified copies of births and deaths registered were to be submitted.[2]

The Political Agent, however, thought that it was not of any special urgency to have himself appointed Marriage Registrar under Section 8 of Act XV of 1872 (Indian Christian Marriage Act), but as there was at that time Pettigrew within the State and number of Christian subjects of Her Majesty might not improbably increase as its operations extended, the Political Agent thought that it might be convenient and thus save future reference, to have himself empowered if necessary to register marriages, births and deaths under the abovementioned Acts. In the case of this appointment Pettigrew had done a pioneering work in Manipur. Because without his intimation to the Political Agent the question of having this dignified post in Manipur would have come very

late. He simply enquired about the registration of his first born child Jesse, but when he was told that he could not do so, Pettigrew had simply withdrawn from the scene and left the matter in the hands of the State authorities.

Education in Manipur was slowly progressing; and the attendance of students both in the hills and plains schools was upto a satisfactory level. Pettigrew was extremely busy with his inspection duty on a regular basis. The language taught in the Primary Schools was Bengali which was enforced only in the valley schools. Upto May 1898 Pettigrew still acted as an Honorary Inspector of Schools in the State, and by his advice an Inspecting Pandit who was a Manipuri from Cachar, was appointed to visit and constantly inspect all the Primary Schools in the valley. Since this step was taken Pettigrew, on his last tour of inspection reported a great improvement in all the schools.[3]

Parents started encouraging their children to attend schools and by the end of 1897, there were one Middle English School and four Lower Primary schools at Imphal; three L. P. Schools in the villages and two L. P. Schools in the hills. Another Regimental School was established in the compound of the 4th Assam Rifles, and the Gurkha students when they were shifted to this new institution a good number of scholars had been decreased in the Johnstone Middle English School. The total amount of expenditure incurred during 1897-98 in running all the schools in Manipur was estimated at Rs. 4,760 only.

Regarding the appointment of the Political Agent in Manipur to be the Registrar of Births and Deaths and the Marriage Registrar, Mr. F. J. Monahan who was officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam sent a message on 7th July 1898, to the Political Agent of Manipur stating that the Chief Commissioner did not consider it necessary to apply Act VI of 1886 to Manipur. The experience of those Provinces in the British India to which Act VI of 1886 had been applied, showed that the Act was to a great extent inoperative, and that the cases in which advantage was taken of it to register births and deaths were comparatively rare. The course ordinarily followed in the districts of British India was to register baptisms and burials of persons wholly

or partly of European extraction as an executive matter – or, in the case of such persons who did not ordinarily practise the rite of 'infant baptism', to register births, – and to forward the entries to the Registrar-General for incorporation in his provincial return, which was transmitted through the Government of India to the India Office. The Political Agent of Manipur was, therefore, instructed to ascertain from the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Assam, exactly what the practice was in this Province, and if, after consultation with him, the Political Agent wished to open an executive register of births, baptisms or burials etc. the Chief Commissioner informed that there would be no objection.

As to the second proposal, the *Indian Christian Marriage Act* (XV of 1872) applied in Native States to British subjects only. The Act would not, therefore, apply to the Tangkhul Nagas of the Manipur States, who might be converted by Pettigrew, and as the Political Agent had said there was no special urgency in the matter, the Chief Commissioner was of opinion that the appointment of a Marriage Registrar for Manipur was unnecessary at that time.[4]

Having failed to procure a license, Pettigrew now devoted his attention toward the education of the Tangkhul Nagas. He realised that someday he would be permitted by the State authorities to solemnise marriages among the christian subjects of the Manipur State. In the meantime he tried hard to pick up the local dialect of the hill people to facilitate himself both in communication and in the class teachings. When Maxwell came back from leave and took up the charge of the Political Agency he recorded in his Diary of April 1899:

> Had an interview with Mr. Pettigrew, the Misssionary to the Tangkhuls, with Headquarters at Ukhrul. He has a school of over 40 Naga boys and reports favourably of their intelligence, and has already a good knowledge of the Tangkhul language. The result is that he has printed Parts I and II of a Primer which are in use in the school, and is busy with more advanced publications in that language.[5]

Tangkhul languages was the second which Pettigrew had reduced in writing and the abovementioned 'advanced publications" came into reality when he printed the

Tangkhul Naga Grammar and Dictionary in 1918. While the medium of instruction in the hill school was in Tangkhul language for which text-books were made available by Pettigrew, Bengali was taught in the Primary Schools of the valley in Manipur. Upto 1899 he still acted as an Honorary Inspector of Schools in the State throughout the year, and he visited all the schools three times with a report that education was advancing satisfactorily. The Inspecting Pandit also made regular inspections of the State schools in the valley monthly. The Hill School among the Tangkhuls at Ukhrul was immediately under the eye of Pettigrew who gave the pupils lessons in English gratis.[6] Of the 33 boys in the School, 23 were learning English, and referring to the progress of education among the Tangkhuls, Maxwell made the following remarks:

> I have little doubt, with the great advantage of being supervised by an experienced educationalist (Rev. Pettigrew), this School will eclipse all over other Primary Schools, and we shall have the curious result that the best educated State subjects will be the hitherto much-despised Tangkhuls.[7]

Upto 1899 there was no other missionary family in Manipur, and Pettigrew with his wife were the only people who had already spent six years doing educational work without preaching. It was no time they thought to approach the Government of Manipur for a sanction of the Gospel preaching and the entrance of another missionary into Manipur who could co-operate Pettigrew in the actual work of proselytization etc. But there was already the Chief Commissioner's Order issued on 12th November 1894, which stated that no missionary intending to work in the State territory could be admitted into Manipur without his previous sanction. In spite of this Order, Pettigrew made an approach to Colonel Maxwell for a permission to allow another missionary family belonging to the same Society to enter Manipur and to join him in the work amongst the Tangkhul Nagas.

The another missionary family was expected to arrive at Ukhrul in the cold season of 1900. Maxwell had no personal objection to this, and thus he forwarded Pettigrew's appeal with a very favourable comment to the Chief Commissioner on 8th June 1899. The latter showed no objection either to

a second missionary entering Manipur and working among the Tangkhuls, provided his work was confined to that tribe alone. The Chief Commissioner was not aware that Pettigrew had his family with him at Ukrul, and so he wanted to know whether it was safe or desirable to allow families of missionaries to be settled among these savage tribes. Because the responsibility of Government was very greatly increased when the safety of women and children was involved.[8] By the month of July 1899, Pettigrew had already two children and it was probable that the new missionary would also be coming with a family.

The Tangkhuls and other forest tribes in the hills of Manipur expressed no wish for the Europeans to reside amongst them. There was always the fear that some misunderstanding might arise which would bring a strong opposition for the Mission. These state of affairs were already explained to Pettigrew before he entered the hills and he was expressly told that neither the Manipur State not the Government would be held responsible for the safety of the Mission and any other missionary entering the hills would come under the same condition. In his letter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Maxwell wrote clearly:

> I may mention that I foresaw a possible source of danger and trouble in permitting missionaries to enter the State during our temporary administration and when I first met Mr. Pettigrew in Silchar I told him he could not work in the Manipur State but unfortunately my successor granted him the permission and the correspondence will show why he was permitted to work amongst the Tangkhuls who are the least offensive of our wild tribes.[9]

The Baptist Mission was not a celibate Mission and the British authorities in Manipur did not see how they could prevent the members marrying and having children. They considered that they were in a position to prohibit during their temporary administration of the State any marriage of the missionary staff. Thus after giving due consideration to the matter, the Chief Commissioner of Assam finally expressed that it was inexpedient to allow the settlement of any more missionaries in the Manipur State. The wishes of the Chief Commissioner were conveyed to Pettigrew on 10th August 1899.

Pettigrew felt insecure in his position among the wild

tribes of Tangkhul. He was at complete loggerheads with one Salloo, and the Head-Man of Ukhrul. He considered that unless something was done by the Political Agent his position at Ukhrul was untenable. But Maxwell pointed out to Pettigrew that his position at Ukhrul was that of an uninvited guest and unless he could adjust himself with the people he would have to leave the hills. To get on well with the Head-Man was highly necessary, as among the Tangkhuls the Head-Man of a village possessed much authority. Actually the trouble had arisen from a too eager desire on Pettigrew's part--a desire most natural to push education in the village and neighbourhood, and also to take sides in the disputes of the hill-men. By this latter course he made enemies and the result was that these enemies were obstructing his educational policy.[10]

Babu Maheshwar Das who was appointed Head Master of the Johnstone School in July 1895, had resigned in 1899 and the school continued its functions without a Head Master throughout the year. The Manipuri parents no longer refused to send their children to schools and education was spread far and wide in the valley. The stubborn Tangkhul parents also extended co-operation in inducing their children to get more facilities from education. Bengali was still taught in the Primary Schools of the valley and parents seemed to encourage their young children to master the language. There were now two Inspecting Pandits, who were Cachar-Manipuries, and they made regular monthly inspections of the State Schools in the valley. Manipuri parents who, for the most part, were uneducated were fast losing the contempt they at first showed to the small amount of education that the State officials were able to impart to their children. A Mistress was at last obtained for the Girls' School which was opened with 12 pupils in December 1899, and this number had increased to 53 by April 1900. Again some ill-disposed persons stated to report that the girls, as soon as they were able to read and write English, would be sent to England, and for some weeks the attendance at the School remained small; later however, as truth got the better of the rumour, the numbers had increased.[11]

When Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of

Assam visited Manipur during the month of November 1901, Pettigrew requested him for the sanction of entrance for another missionary into Manipur and the grant of a license to marry British subjects of His Majesty in the Manipur State. Mr. Cotton told Pettigrew that he would not be allowed to carry on missionary work among the Manipuris and that it would depend on the Raja himself when he was placed on the Gaddi, whether he would allow this or indeed allow Pettigrew to remain in Manipur at all. There were two points, however, which the Chief Commissioner wanted to know from Maxwell. First, was there any objection to allowing another missionary to act for Pettigrew at Ukhrul during his absence in Europe on the distinct understanding that he did not remain when Pettigrew returned? Second, would there be any objection to allowing Pettigrew a license to marry British subjects of His Majesty in Manipur? This did not mean to license him to marry Tangkhuls of course, but it would authorise him to marry any native Christians in Manipur who were Christian subjects of His Majesty. Pettigrew informed the Chief Commissioner that there were such in the Regimental Band for instance and elsewhere. Mr. Titers was a case in point.[12] On 4th December 1901, Maxwell forwarded Pettigrew's memorial to the Chief Commissioner of Assam who submitted for orders to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. As regards the native Christian subjects in Manipur, Maxwell noted, he knew of no Act under which a marriage license could be granted and if a licence to marry native Christian subjects of His Majesty was granted the missionary and his native friends in the Tangkhul hills would be satisfied.

After his stay for five years among the Tangkhul community, Pettigrew did not have any chance to convert even a Tangkhul Naga. But in 1901, 12 students from his little school had confessed themselves and they were baptized at Ngayira, a pond at Ukhrul. But due to their negligence and forced ignorancy about the Christian way of life, some of them had to be rejected.

On 14th January 1902, the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur that His Excellency the Viceroy had no objection to

allowing another missionary to act for Pettigrew at Ukhrul during his absence on furlough. But the new missionary had to go among the Tangkhul Nagas at his own risk, and that neither the Local Government nor the Manipur State could accept any responsibility for his treatment by the hill people. Cotton also granted Pettigrew a license to marry Christian subjects of His Majesty in Manipur. This grant was sanctioned by the Chief Commissioner in exercise of his powers conferred on him by the Government of India, Foreign Department in Notification No.3741 I.B. of Ist October 1897. Cotton forwarded his Order to Pettigrew on 10th January 1902:

> No. 115 J. Under the provisions of Section 9 of the *Indian Christian Marriage Act*, XV of 1872, the Chief Commissioner authorises the Reverend W. Pettigrew to grant certificates of marriage between Native Christians in the Manipur State. This gives authority to the license only so far as Christian subjects of His Majesty are concerned.

Throughout the year (1902), Pettigrew continued to act as the Honorary Inspector of Schools and he paid regular visits in the valley schools of Manipur. During March 1903, when Major A. E. Woods, the new officiating Political Agent, visited Ukhrul, he discussed several school matters with Pettigrew. After an inspection of the Tangkhul School, Major Woods recorded in his Diary : 'Mr. Pettigrew has taken great trouble with the School; some of the boys speak English fairly well'.[13] In the middle of the year there was a sudden decrease in the number of boys attending school. Pettigrew attributed the decrease principally to having done away with Bengali in the Pathsalas and also to insisting on a better average of attendance at schools. Bengali was again reintroduced, as it was no doubt the wish of the people to have their children taught that language.

The second batch of education at the Ukhrul Mission School was started from October 1903. This time Pettigrew had nothing to insist the parents to send their children at school. Neither he requested the State authorities to extend help and co-operation in getting scholars who came at their own free will. Some of the prominent students from the Ukhrul area were – Miksha, Kanrei, Vareijung, Raiton, Shaivi, Changkhareng I and Changkhareng II, Horhai, Shangkhatit, Yangia, Veikhok, Chapthai, Moreiphung,

Vareisai, Shongang etc. Students from the Hundung area were--Shangmahing, Ningchui, Yomzang I and Yamzang II, Seikhang, Ningpai, Makharing, Malumchi, Namzä, Khoreileng, Vareisui, Kachāng, Sāngmayang, Vareichin and Pheishir etc.

Students of the first batch and the village elders helped for the second batch of education in various ways, as they became aware about the values of receiving modern education. The experimental stage of education among the wild Tangkhul Nagas had proved successful, and for the second phase it was officially decided to depute some learned teachers from Imphal. Pandit Janmajoy Singh who had previously taught Bengali and Manipuri to Pettigrew, A. Mongol Singh (Porom Singh's younger brother), Nana Singh and Prafulla an Assamese, were the selected teachers for the Ukhrul Mission School. Nangmeikapam Gokul Singh was the last teacher who came to Ukhrul and he was entrusted with the school administration while Pettigrew and his wife left for furlough.

After Pettigrew had resigned the post of Honorary Inspector of Schools, Babu Tonu Singh was appointed the Deputy Inspector of Schools which he joined towards the end of 1903. He served the post upto the end of March 1907, when he was again appointed a Sub-Deputy Collector on the 1st of April 1907. In his place Golab Singh, a Manipuri was appointed the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

Text-books in Manipuri were completed for use in the Pathsalas by the end of 1903, because instruction was now given by means of that language.[14] The following chart will indicate the language taught in the Primary Schools and the conflicts thereby caused by the teaching of the Bengali over the Manipuri language:

1895-96 : Schools opened and Bengali books were read.

1901 : Manipuri books were read in the Vth class.

1902 : Manipuri books were read in the IIIrd and IVth class.

1903 (January) : Bengali literature and grammar were read and also Manipuri; Arithmatic in Manipuri were read from IInd to Vth class. Bengali books were read and Manipuri as second language in the Ist class.

1904 (January) : Manipuri books were read and Bengali as second language in all classes.

In one of his rough notes Maxwell recorded some valuable information which he received from Pettigrew when the latter was on his way to England:

> Mr. Pettigrew on reaching Calcutta and just before starting for England informed me by letter that the last lot of Manipuri text-books were printed there ready to be forwarded to Manipur. This he said was the last of the Manipuri text-book work. Manipuri text-books are to be read from this year (1904) in all classes (I to V) throughout the Pathsalas.
>
> There is however a Bengali Reader and Grammar still being used in class I of the Pathsalas. This I understand is being treated as a second language. The children read the book and explain everything in Manipuri. I have not been informed as yet whether a Bengali Reader is read also in the lower classes. Bengali was not re-introduced into the Pathsalas for the last few years to my knowledge.

The year 1904 marked a great advance in the spread of education and the Manipuris were evidently becoming sensible to its advantages. Female education had as yet made little progress. The Girl's School was opened of course, but it was closed again in 1902 from motives of economy. In his report on Eduction, Mr. B. C. Allen wrote in 1905:

> There are no difficulties in the shape of caste scruples or the restrictions of the *Purdah* to be overcome, but the shrewd Manipuri women would have to be convinced of the practical value of education before she would send her child to school. In 1901, only 9 (nine) per mile of the population knew how to read and write, and the number of literate women was less than one per mile. It must not be supposed from this that the Manipuris are rude uncultured boors. Cut off as they are by their mountain walls from their fellow-men, it is not to be expected that they would take much interest in the affairs of the outer world, and a literary education has few charms for them. Men and women alike are full of enterprise and intelligence, and few people manage better without schooling than the Manipuri.[15]

The Pettigrew again arrived in Manipur on 2nd December 1905, after their return from leave. On his way back, Pettigrew further equipped himself for an effective Mission work by the study of medicine. On 3rd December Major J. Shakespear, the Political Agent of Manipur had an interesting discussion with Pettigrew regarding education among the hill tribes of Manipur.[16]

In 1905, Shakespear amalgamated the Upper Primary School with the Johnstone School in order to give the former an advantage of being under the Head Master of the latter. Next year in consultation with some of the leading men in Manipur, Shakespear drew up orders regarding scholar-

ships and free studentships. Those boys who failed to secure either of these boons had to pay fees. The following was the teaching staff pattern of the School:

	Pay		*Qualification*
	Minimum	Maximum	
	Rs.	Rs.	
Head Master	130	150	F. A. (Calcutta University).
2nd Master	60	80	B. A. -do-
3rd Master	40	60	F. A. -do-
4th Master	x	27	Entrance -do-
5th Master	x	23	Middle Vernacular Certificate.
6th Master	x	20	Upper Primary (Dacca)
7th Master	x	20	Studied upto High School, 2nd class not Certificated.

Teachers in the Lower Primary Schools received Rs. 3 a month from the State, and the villages provided the building and the teachers' food. These schools only taught reading, writing and arithmatic in Manipuri.

Babu Tonu Singh who was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools in place of Pettigrew on his resignation, with his two Inspecting Pandits worked hard and did their best to keep the Pathsalas up to the mark. At the close of 1906-1907, there were 52 Lower Primary Schools in the valley, and the number of students in them reached 2,595.

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SEVEN

The Beginning of Missionary Activities

On 15th May 1907, Chura Chand Singh completed his minority and the administration of the State was made over to him assisted by a Darbar, which consisted of one member of the Indian Civil Service lent from the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam and six other Manipuris. The young Raja was formally installed on the Gadi by Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam in February 1908. The Manipur State Darbar was managed in accordance with a set of rules sanctioned by the Government of India.

Chura Chand Singh was the first President of the Darbar with W. A. Cosgrave as the Vice-President. The three Ordinary Members were Rajkumar Dumbro Singh, Gokul Singh (Naharup Lakpa) and Ibungo Chaoba Singh. The other three Additional Members were Bindu Madhab Shastri, Ningomba Yaiskul Lakpa and Maibia Tamro Singh.[1]

The ordinary members of the Darbar hold charge of departments, whereas the additional members were not incharge of any departments. They were simply to attend all meetings of the Darbar and to speak and vote equally with the other members. No members of the Darbar could be removed without the express consent of the Political Agent in writing. Each ordinary member was responsible to His Highness for the proper administration of the departments committed to his charge. He had to dispose of all ordinary business, but brought questions of importance to His Highness's notice, through the Darbar, which, in forwarding the matter to His Highness might make any representation. His Highness's orders were notified to the Darbar in writing.

The Darbar used to submit copies of its proceedings to His Highness who might approve thereof, or refer any matter back to the Darbar for further discussion, or veto any

resolution and issue what orders he saw fit, stating his reasons in writing. Copies of the proceedings and the orders passed thereon were again submitted to the Political Agent in English. The Darbar had the right to the consulted in all matters of importance affecting the State and with reference to any proposed alteration in established procedure or custom.

The hill tribes of Manipur were administered by the president assisted by one or more officers on His Highness's behalf in accordance with rules approved by the Government of Assam.

The Manipur State Darbar was the highest original and appellate criminal Court in the State and it tried all cases beyond the jurisdiction of the Cherap Court, except those in which hill-men were concerned and those that arose within the British Reserve. All the European British subjects were solely under the jurisdiction of the Political Agent, and he tried all cases in which a European British subject was a party. The President tried all criminal cases in which a member of the hill tribes or a native of the Lushai, Chin, or Naga Hill or a member of the hill tribes of the Cachar District was concerned either as a complainant or accused except those which arose within the British Reserve. The President and his assistants were, of course, guided as far as possible by the tribal customs.

The Political Agent, His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the President of the Darbar were the three main officials who virtually conducted the whole administration of the State. The missionary Societies in Manipur were also controlled by the above three Heads who passed orders jointly, but the leading official was always the Political Agent.

On 25th April 1907, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear wrote in his Diary:

> Mr. Pettigrew from Ukhrul spent two days here and we consulted about the education of the Tangkhuls. The system I introduced last year by which each large village was to send two young men to Ukhrul for a year instruction after which they were to act as village writers and school masters, has not turned out very well. This causes of the failure are various but after consulting with Messrs. Pettigrew and Mr. Cosgrave, I hope, I have been able to remove most of the defects. Mr. Cosgrave will visit Ukhrul at the end of May and explain the new system to those

concerned. He has visited most of the villages in which the system has failed and so I hope he will be able to explain matters to them so as to ensure its success in future.[2]

As soon as Pettigrew had re-settled at Ukhrul after his furlough, he tried to enforce the new system of education first introduced by Shakespear in 1906. As he requested the State authorities to establish new schools in the villages, Mr. Cosgrave immediately granted his request and as a result eight more Lower Primary Schools were opened at Chingjaroi, Paoyi, Huining, Talla, Phadang, Nambashi, Khangkhui and Nungbi. The over-all supervision of these aided schools was entrusted to Pettigrew.

V. Yarnao, Paoyili R. Honrei, S. Yuishi, S. Mapha, K. Maninglum and Makheishai from the Hundung area; Luiraphang, also from Hundung; Pheikhui of Ukhrul - were appointed teachers for the newly established schools. Those villages which had no schools were directed to depute two students each to the Ukhrul Mission School. Within a short time the number of students became eighty in the Ukhrul Mission School alone, and it was soon changed into a Middle English School. Shortly afterwards women education was also introduced at Ukhrul and among the first batch some of the prominent women-students were - Sanamla, Harngaila, Lasengla and Mahongai from Ukhrul proper; Charani, Ngalew, Kasuni and Asera from Chingjaroi; Shurita, Langzarla from Paoyi etc. To encourage the students Pettigrew introduced prize distribution systems to brilliant students whose attendance showed good markings. This plan came out very successful and they were given good diets. At the end of each year a grand-feast was arranged for the students. After the school course was completed some of these were appointed Lambus and some were given Church work.

In 1907, the Christians numbered seven, but the growth was too rapid and most of the converts could not maintain the standards of a pure Christian life. The widely prevalent practice of drinking and other obnoxious customs incompatible with the Christian faith called for a quick reformation. There came a strong opposition to Pettigrew when he tried to discipline them. The matter came to a final conflict when the missionary restricted the Christians to participate in a village festival which they assured him was

quite innocent but which he learnt involved the worship of spirits. The village Head-Man was angry because the celebration of the festival had previously brought him a considerable income.

In the same year Pettigrew had reformed the Church by laying down certain list of rules which the Christians were expected to follow. Only seven out of the whole Christians remained firm and they personally adhered to the new set of rules laid down by the missionary. The seven faithful members who constituted the remnant of the Tangkhul Church were – Honrei, Leishisan, Miksa and Thisan from Ukhrul; Machonthei, and Kuishon from Kampha; and lastly Angom Porom Singh of Pheiyeng. Porom Singh was the first convert from among the Manipuris. When he was a little boy he had been offered by his parents to Pettigrew and he remained throughout his life one of the most faithful Christian leaders of the American Baptist Missionary Society. He married a Tangkhul woman and even became the Head Master of the Ukhrul Mission School where he stayed for many years. Mr. T. Luikham, who was one of the seven converts mentioned about the changes brought in 1907 by Christian influence:

> The Tangkhul Christians decided to give up their national hair-cut though this custom was so strongly established that even now it is in vogue among the non-Christians of the tribe. The old hair-cut shaped like a cock's comb was replaced by the European style.
>
> The habits, behaviour and customs of the Christians are quite different to those approved by old usage. They accepted the new faith and translated its spirit into their actions.[3]

During the last part of 1907, Mary Mead Clark of the American Baptist Mission added the following few lines on the development of the Ukhrul Mission Station.

> Among the twenty thousand Tangkhul Nagas, northeast of the capital of Manipur, Mr. Pettigrew is laying the foundations of a new order of things. He is probably the only white man who speaks their language, which he has reduced to writing. The Gospels of Luke and John, and the Acts have been translated.
>
> Seventy of the three hundred (students) are in the station school in Ukhrul. The five native evangelists are making good use of their knowledge of medical and minor surgical treatment, and a hospital dispensary is now being erected at headquarters. There is only one church thus far, and that numbers but twenty-nine members, half of whom were baptized last year. The evangelists report (1906) some

> thirty more awaiting the ordinance. The members have built a meeting-house in the center of the village, where crowds gather Tuesday and Friday evenings, as well as on Sunday. There are nearly a hundred pupils in the station Sunday-school, besides Sunday-school classes in the station schools.[4]

Although Pettigrew was mainly engaged with the educational and missionary works in the Ukhrul area, he never abandoned his desire to convert Manipuris and work among the valley population. In December 1907, he requested the Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union to approach the State authorities of Manipur for an extension of the missionary activities in the valley. Accordingly, the Foreign Secretary, on behalf of the Union, requested the Political Agent of Manipur on 4th January 1908, for an extension of Pettigrew's work in the valley. The Manipur State Darbar showed no objection to the Missionary Union working in the hills, but they did not wish the missionaries to work in the Manipur valley. This was the first disapproval of the Darbar toward an extension of the Christian missionaries network among the Hindu population.

An early major work completed by Pettigrew was the opening up of communications in the Ukhrul area. On 14th August 1909, he submitted a petition to the Manipur State Darbar to consider favourably about the subject of road communications. In the previous year Mr. Davis, the then officiating Political Agent of Manipur had already recommended to both the Darbar and the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the opening up of communications in the hills surrounding the valley, and he also expressed his views that as a beginning a bridle-path could be made to Ukhrul with a view to its being carried on to meet the bridle-paths in the southern Angami country.

The condition of things in connection with this matter of roads and rest-house accomodation in the hills was a veritable disgrace. Not even one State-made-road was in any part of them. Pettigrew said that for the past 13 years he personally had to travel under conditions which would not be tolerated by others in any other Native State; and those in authority who had to pay their annual visit were not in any way anxious to repeat their experience. Hardly a year passed, but what there was some trouble with villages who had to put

up and repair bridges, huts and clear jungle along the Naga beaten tracks, and more often than not, the temporary structures erected over the larger rivers every year, were carried away during the rainy season.

No doubt, His Highness the Raja of Manipur as well as members of the Darbar were aware of the fact that one of the best signs of good Government anywhere was the opportunity given to their subjects to dispel ignorance, to get in touch with civilised ways, to enable them to increase their desire to trade with other centres, and so widening their knowledge of the outside world. As it was, the Tangkhul Nagas, for instance, were arrant cowards outside their own country. They were even afraid of going as far as Kohima, and a great deal of this fear was due in part to this bad policy of imprisoning them, so to speak, in these hills with no decent communications for them to reach the outside world. Also the Nagas living south and west of them were very much in the same position.

Pettigrew's petition covered the whole of the hills surrounding the valley. He wished to see both sides of the valley intersected with decent bridle-paths. There was room for two good bridle-paths running north and south. The people living ten miles east to the Ukhrul were very little known, and very seldom heard of, and a bridle-path through their country would be a boon and blessing to them as well as to those who had to govern them. With regard to the proposed road to Ukhrul, Pettigrew assured the Darbar that the expense of making it would not be prohibitive.

He also made a suggestion to the Vice-President of the Darbar that there was only one spot that was likely to be expensive. This was where the Thoubal river had to be crossed. He proposed that a bridge of 60 feet would be necessary; and just east of this bridge there was a very steep dip to the river made up of rubble which had to be specially attended to. The length of this part was not more than 600 feet.

About the carrying out of the work, Pettigrew suggested that the best plan would be to order the villages, in close proximity to the alignment, to work on an arranged portion by giving them a *baksheesh* when their allotted portion was

complete. As a matter of fact, he felt sure all the villages would gladly undertake this work without any special arrangement about daily pay or contract. No doubt, they would naturally ask for something prohibitive, but that was only to be expected. He also proposed that the State Engineer could be asked to work out the probable cost at the local rates, and that taken with the amount of money the State could afford to spare it would help to decide what amount of *baksheesh* could be given. Of course, if the State could afford to give at proper contract rates, or at the rate of four annas per day for each able bodied man and woman, so much the better.[5]

The project was discussed by Mr. Cosgrave with both Mr. Davis and Col. Shakespear, and he promised to draw up a definite scheme within a short time. Determining the route for the bridle-path and the method of rewarding the hill-men by whom the path had to be constructed, the opinions expressed by Pettigrew received the most careful consideration.[6]

The hill population paid about Rs. 60,000 towards the revenue of the State and the total cost of the administration of the hills was only Rs. 9,870, of which Rs. 1,000 was for the maintenance of the Thanas on the cart-road. The hills, therefore, really paid a net revenue of Rs. 51,130. However, the communications in the hills were in a very bad state and there were really nothing but the Naga paths, and movements in consequence was very slow. This made the control of the hills more difficult and thus the State officials were of opinion that, a well-thought-out-system of hill-paths would do much to facilitate administration. In the Lushai Hills which were only occupied in 1891, a complete system of riding-paths had already been made and every village were obliged to make a good path from the nearest riding road.

In the middle of September 1909, the Political Agent wrote to His Highness the Raja of Manipur :

> The paths would have a width varying from 4 to 6 feet and be at such a gradient as to be easily passable by pack animals. The rates of pay would be fixed with the due consideration of the amount of advantage the people themselves would derive from the paths.
>
> I shall be very pleased to lend assistance in tracing some of these paths as I have had considerable experience of hill-road-making in the Lushai Hills.[7]

The Political Agent suggested a sum of Rs. 10,000 out of the Hill Revenue for the improvement of communications. But the Vice-President of the Darbar said that it would not be possible to provide Rs. 10,000 for this purpose in the yearly budget of 1910 without causing the total expenditure to exceed the total receipts. Mr. Cosgrave, however was of opinion that as a bridle-path connecting the Imphal, Kameng and Yaingangpokpi road with the leading Tangkhul villages of Ukhrul and Hundung was urgently required for improving communications in the north-east of the State, a survey of this bridle-path would be made during the cold weather of 1909 and the cost being met from the Hill Office Contingencies.[8]

The first initiative taken up by Pettigrew in the construction of roads which led towards his Mission compound from every possible directions of the Naga inhabited areas was finally confirmed by the Manipur State Darbar on 14th September 1910:

> Considered the Vice President's proposal to finish the Tangkhul bridle-path from Hundung to Ukhrul at a cost not exceeding Rs. 400.
>
> Resolved that the path be completed, and cost to be provided by transfer from the Hill Office Contingencies.[9]

After his resignation from the post of the Honorary Inspector of Schools, one of Pettigrew's important contributions, although without success, was the efforts he made to introduce technical work among the Tangkhul tribe. On 15th November 1909, he made a long representation to Mr. Cosgrave requesting for the establishment of a Technical School in Ukhrul. This request was immediately declined by the State authorities only to re-open the papers again in the middle of 1912. The circumstances which led Pettigrew for a longing to introduce this special kind of training programme among the Tangkhuls were as follows.

About October 1908, a dozen or so of the elder boys of the Ukhrul Mission School requested Pettigrew to introduce a carpentry class amongst them. He mentioned this matter to Mr. Cosgrave when the latter came for a visit at Taloi. Pettigrew found that there were several things these men could learn to make which the Tangkhuls would be willing to purchase–boxes, beds, doors, stools, tables, cartwheels,

sawyers work and house-building etc. As regards the appointment of a decent carpenter-cum-teacher, Pettigrew thought that the State Engineer could find him work at first to do for the State up at Ukhrul by which he could teach the boys the elementary part of carpentry, and from that to the particular work they wished to be proficient in.

The boys suggested that the State could purchase the necessary tools for each student, and they on leaving school would take them over and pay for it to the State. There had to be a house for the carpenter and a workshop to be built; thus making a rough estimate for the first year Pettigrew suggested that Rs. 1,000 would cover the whole establishment. There was no sufficient Mission plant at Ukhrul to occupy a carpenter's whole time, otherwise Pettigrew could have suggested the Mission taking up this work completely. At any rate Pettigrew had a wish to use the carpenter for Mission work particularly. But these suggestions were immediately turned down by Mr. Cosgrave on certain grounds.

After the publications of *Tangkhul Primers*, Part I and II in 1899, Pettigrew's linguistic yearning was not only confined to the Tangkhul language. Although he had to stay at his headquarters at Ukhrul, he devoted more of his labour to learning of an advanced Manipuri language and grammar. It was however very doubtful whether the Assam Government would encourage the production of a Manipuri grammar or not. The only book of the kind by Mr. A. J. Primrose, who was one time officiating Political Agent of Manipur, was printed at the Assam Secretariat Press in 1888. But according to Shakespear it was of a very little practical use and in process of trying to learn the language Shakespear found it necessary to practically construct a new grammar for himself. He also knew that in the preparation of his Manipuri Grammar, Mr. Primrose did not hesitate to make free use of the "Notes on Manipuri Grammar" (1875) by G. H. Damant who gave an interesting review of the language:

> The grammar of the Manipuri language is practically unknown at present, and the Europeans who have any acquaintance at all with it might be counted on one's fingers. So far as I know, there is only one book on the language, an English-Manipuri Dictionary, printed at the Baptist Mission Press in 1837, and this is now very scarce... I may note

> that all grammatical forms given hereafter are derived from the language as spoken at present... . The grammar is very well worth studying.[10]

It was with a note of challenge that Shakespear had first proposed in September 1907, to elaborate his notes into a simple guide to the language. Early in the same year, T. C. Hodson had also been offered to revise Primrose's Manipuri Grammar and Phrase Book. When Dr. Grierson was consulted the strongly recommended that the offer might be accepted; and Major Gurdon, who was in communication with T. C. Hodson at home, was told in February that before coming to any decision the Lieutenant-Governor wanted to know on what terms Hodson would undertake the work. Nothing further had been heard of on the subject. Shakespear, however, was not in a position to undertake the work of revising Primrose's Grammar before he proceeded on leave; but that on his return, if T. C. Hodson had not been commissioned to undertake the work, he promised to take up the job for an honorarium of Rs. 1,000. One of the main jobs was to point out the defects in Primrose's book and to explain the necessity for its revision. A considerable body of literature on the Manipuri dialect other than Primrose's book had already existed as indicated in the list of such publications given in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume III, Part III. Generally speaking grammars were compiled more or less on stereotyped lines, and therefore, Shakespear was instructed to indicate the lines on which he proposed to proceed and to forward a synopsis of his work.

The Political Agent of Manipur could not immediately take up the painstaking labour of composing the proposed work, although he repeatedly commented that Primrose's book was absolutely useless, except or the sentences which were good, and he believed were largely the work of Mr. Mitchell. He therefore, made a correspondence with Pettigrew during July 1909, and enquired if the missionary could undertake the work. While expecting a 'very useful book' from Pettigrew, the Political Agent wanted that the proposed Grammar should closely follow the lines of the *Lushai Grammar and Dictionary* by Savidge and Lorrain.

In the middle of July, 1909, Pettigrew had just commenced revision of the first edition of Manipuri Grammar in

the Bengali character (*Meiteilongi Vyakaran*, 1903) which he prepared and published in 1903 for the schools in the valley. So he thought it would be sufficient for him to ask the loan of Janmejoy Singh (Pandit at Johnstone School) and Jatishwar Singh (Inspecting Pandit of Primary Schools) for two months at Ukhrul when he needed them. Pettigrew understood that Savidge and Lorrain had received from the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam a gift of 300 copies of their book when published. But in his case he suggested that if the Government agreed to present the cost of printing 300 books in cash, the amount could be utilised for the Mission work he was engaged in amongst the Tangkhul Nagas, or if his Society preferred to have the amount sent to them direct he was quite willing to accept. By 1909, Pettigrew wrote, he had copious notes on the *Tangkhul Naga Grammar and Dictionary*. After spending one month at Rangoon in connection with his missionary activities, Pettigrew came back to Ukhrul in the last week of December, 1910. On 21st January next year he sent the manuscript of Manipuri Grammar (114 foolscape pages) which he managed to prepare for the press.

At first Pettigrew intended to use some of the illustrative sentences from Primrose's Manual, but he found that they were not suitable to the scheme he wished to arrange, and he therefore used his own sentences instead. The book was, according to Pettigrew, a result of considerable labour and time, and he hoped it to be a useful and successful addition to the history of Manipur. The General Department of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam paid Rs. 300 as honorarium to Pettigrew for the compilation of the *Manipuri (Mitei) Grammer*.

Pettigrew sent his second manuscript of the *Tangkhul Naga Grammer and Dictionary* containing 1168 pages in the last week of August 1912. It was the fruit of sixteen years acquaintance with the language and the book practically followed the same arrangement made in the Manipuri Grammar. Pettigrew had used in nearly every case the same illustrations, thinking that it would be of use for comparison and be of interest to philologists.

The question of printing the book in England or India was raised by his leaving for furlough in September 1912. If

the Government desired the book to be printed in India, Pettigrew requested to allow him to stay in Allahabad during the month of November 1912, to see the first proofs through. In any case he wished for family reasons to reach home before Christmas. On 11th September 1912, Mr. H. K. Briscoe, Under Secretary (Revenue) sent a telegraphic message to the Political Agent of Manipur stating that the *Tangkhul Naga Grammar and Dictionary* would be printed by the Secretariat Press (Assam), and the proofs would be sent by Pettigrew in England for correction as it was unnecessary to detain him in India.

For the first time in the history of the American Baptist Missionary Society in Manipur, the Mission had to undergo an everlasting conflict with the newly founded Thado-Kuki Pioneer Mission from the beginning of the year 1910. This Mission was started in January 1910, in the Lushai Hills by one Dr. Fraser; Mr. Watkin Roberts was then his assistant. The conflict first started when the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills sent a telegraphic message to the Political Agent of Manipur requesting for a permission in favour of Watkin Roberts to visit Senvong on the Lushai border. The Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar did not object to Mr. Robert's short visit to Senvong, but he informed that a permanent location there would require the Darbar's approval. Three months later Mr. Roberts again asked for a permission to settle and work with some Lushai teachers at Senvong. His Highness the Raja of Manipur agreed to this but he had a wish to see Mr. Roberts before granting him the final permission to settle and authorising the establishment of a Mission station at Senvong.

Actually Mr. Robert's temporary visit at Senvong was made at the request of Kamkhawluna (Chief of Senvong) who seemed very anxious to have a Christian missionary stationed in the district. He was convinced that there was great scope for work not only in the villages on the border but extending along the Thado country as well, where, he was informed, no missionary work had been carried on so far. In view of these urgent facts he had a desire to ask permission from Colonel Shakespear for a Mission work to be immediately commenced in Senvong. He even expected to send a few

Lushai Christian young men to work among those who were able to understand the Lushai language (approximately a population of 10,000). But Shakespear could not easily offer permission to Mr. Roberts without consulting the whole situation with His Highness the Raja of Manipur. The view of the State authorities, according to Shakespear, were explained as follows.

The Manipur State had no interest in the spread of Christianity, and Mr. Roberts and his subordinates as missionaries would not expect any sort of help from the State. The State authorities of Manipur were also not willing to force any village to receive Mr. Roberts or to assist him. This was exactly the condition on which work in the Lushai Hills had been commenced and Colonel Shakespear attributed the success of the missionaries largely to the fact that from the first it was recognised by all parties that they were not Government men.

The Manipur State was interested only in the spread of education and it was one of the main objects that she maintained a few vernacular schools in the hills surrounding the valley. It was understood that the State would be glad to avail itself of Mr. Roberts' assistance if he were prepared to supervise the education of those parts. The State could not bind itself to carry out an expensive scheme of education, nor did it appear probable that for many years to come the State would feel inclined to assist English education in those parts. The fact that those people were Manipur State subjects had not to be overlooked and the first advance in education beyond Lushai and Thado would be to introduce the Manipuri language and literature.

It seemed most important that in starting such a work as Mr. Roberts had proposed, there was to be an understanding between him and the State authorities of Manipur and on this ground Mr. Roberts was invited to come over to Imphal at the beginning of the cold weather in 1911 to talk over the whole matter with His Highness the Raja of Manipur, the Vice President of the Darbar, and Colonel Shakespear himself. Unfortunately upto this time Mr. Roberts could not obtain any information about the missionary works already started in Manipur by Pettigrew. In June 1910, he requested

Shakespear to supply him informations regarding the whole population of Manipur, specially of the hill tribes, like Thados etc. By rumour he somehow heard that some portion of the Gospels had been translated into Manipuri language by Pettigrew, but he did not have the faintest idea whether this gentleman had done missionary work in the State or not. During those days the population of Manipur was about three lakhs of which about one lakh were in the hills. The Thado speaking clans were about 32,000 and others who probably spoke either Lushai or Thado were about 8,000. Only in December 1910, Colonel Shakespear sent a telegraphic message to Mr. Roberts stating that he need not come to Imphal to interview the Raja of Manipur, as it was already decided that a second Mission in the State was undersirable at all.

During the 1911 Census operations, Pettigrew was given an unexpected opportunity to visit the other hill areas of Manipur at Government expense. The personal contacts made by Pettigrew during his tours in the hill areas proved useful in opening the way of his missionary activities in the other non-Tangkhul areas of Manipur. Mr. J. McSwiney, who was the Superintendent of Census Operations in Assam for the year 1911, made a record in his Acknowledgement:

> The reader will be able to appreciate how much is due especially to Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., Political Agent in Manipur, to the Reverend William Pettigrew of the same State, and to Lieutenant-Colonel H.W.G., I.A., late Superintendent, Lushai Hills.[11]

Apart from a supply of a statistical data of the numbers on the Christian population in Manipur, there were no other ethnological descriptions of the hill tribes surrounding the valley which might perhaps be attributed to Pettigrew. For instance he numbered seven Christians in 1881; forty-five in 1901 and one hundred thirty two in 1911 etc.

During the Census Operations, Pettigrew was the only man who talked the language of the hill tribes. He engaged some of the students from the higher classes of the Ukhrul Mission School and carried out the Census of the hills in a very prompt manner. The hill people valued the services rendered by the missionary. Along with his native co-workers he used to go on tours preaching whenever possible with whom he came in contact. Some Headmen of the villages

even invited him to establish schools, but many of the people felt dissatisfied as because sufficient funds could not be sanctioned by the Government to meet extra educational expenses.

Fresh conflicts again broke out in October 1911, when the Political Agent of Manipur sent a telegraph to the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills directing him to stop Watkin Roberts from entering Manipur. When he was in Shillong towards the end of December 1910, Shakespear received a communication from Mr. Roberts asking when it would be convenient to the State authorities of Manipur to allowing him to visit Imphal. Immediately Shakespear wrote back the strong decision of the Darbar against his visit to Manipur, and since to this letter Shakespear received no reply he already concluded that Mr. Roberts had given up all notions of working in the Manipur State. But he again sent in a personal letter to Pettigrew on 11th September 1911, indicating his desire to work inside the State territory. The Political Agent made a reply-call to the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills stating that he could not agree to Mr. Roberts' entering Manipur. After fully considering the matter, the Vice-President of the Darbar, who was incharge of the hill tracts of Manipur made a joint decision with Colonel Shakespear that it was inexpedient to allow Mr. Roberts to commence work in Manipur. Pettigrew was not unaware of these new developments because he was all the time kept well informed either by the Political Agent or the Vice President of the Darbar.

In November 1911, Pettigrew came up from Ukhrul and stayed for some days at the Imphal Dak Bungalow. He had a personal interview with Colonel Shakespear to discuss matters regarding Roberts' affairs. Shakespear narrated that Senvong was a village within the Manipur boundary, but only a few miles from the Lushai border. According to the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, Mr. Roberts was not a member of the Local Mission, but judging from his name 'Roberts' and from his coming from Aijal, Shakespear concluded that he was probably a friend of Mr. Jones whom he knew well. It was on this ground of friendly terms that he had granted permission for a temporary visit. But on 4th April

1910, Mr. Roberts wrote that he had already visited Senvong and thought there was great scope for work not only in the villages on the border but extending along the Thado country as well. He also asked for permission to send some young Lushai Christians to work among those who understood that language, and subsequently an attempt was made to push forward among other tribes also.

Colonel Shakespear agreed with Pettigrew's claims that previous to permission being granted for any other Missionary Society opening work in the State, it was only fair to the American Baptist Missionary Society and also advisable from the State's point of view, that this Society should have to be consulted as to its willingness to take up the work. Shakespear's own view was that if the Welsh Mission from Aijal asked to extend its operations over the village in the State in which Lushai was understood, it would be just and wise to grant the permission but that was quite a different matter to granting strangers permission to work wherever any Thados were found.

Some twelve years ago Pettigrew had requested for a permission of another missionary family to come into Manipur to assist him at the Ukhrul headquarters. This long standing expectation was at last granted in November 1911, when Rev. and Mrs. U. M. Fox arrived at Ukhrul. In the same year they named the Mission compound as Phungyo and bought more plot from Ukhrul in order to accomodate newcomers to stay at the Phungyo Mission compound. But even after the arrival of U. M. Fox at Ukhrul, the two missionaries could not make a steady progress as they desired, because many unexpected troubles were repeatedly thrown by Watkin Roberts who represented the Thado-Kuki Pioneer Mission. In January 1912, he wrote that the Chief of Senvong in consultation with the Vice-President of the Manipur State Darbar had invited him in 1909 and that the Political Agent in his letter of May 1910, expressed his willingness to welcome him in Manipur; the Chiefs, Lushai workers and the Christian community were all calling him etc. He quoted the World Missionary Conference Report of 1910, with reference to the duty of the British Political Officers towards the Missionary Societies by threatening to

appeal to the Government of India, Parliament and the Press if he were not allowed to work in the Manipur State.

Mr. Roberts was pressing Colonel Shakespear every now and then to let him go and look after the poor people of Senvong, who Mr. Roberts said, were almost anxious to embrace the Christian faith. But the Political Agent thought it much better for the Senvong people and also for the State if Pettigrew could visit them. He did not want to appear, he confessed, as an opponent of missionary efforts, and still there were serious objections to another Mission being opened, which professed to deal with Thados all over the State. If the Political Agent could assure him that Pettigrew were prepared to look after these people, Mr. Roberts would have no reasonable excuse for pressing the point. On a special request of the Political Agent, Pettigrew readily accepted to visit Senvong in the meantime.

It was a great surprise to find that Mr. Roberts had proposed to carry on work among all the Thados wherever found, which meant that on the strength of Colonel Shakespear's permission to send in a few Lushai Christians to a particular village of Lushai speaking people, Mr. Roberts had already constituted himself a missionary to the whole Thado race. Shakespear expressed his thankfulness to Mr. Roberts for his anxiousness about the spiritual welfare of this clan. But he was urging the American Baptist Mission which had been established in Manipur for the last 18 years to extend their work to the Thados; and Pettigrew was about to start for the southern portion of the district with a view to ascertaining the best method of extending the Society's work. Naturally therefore, Mr. Robert's anxiety regarding the Thados was quite un-necessary and that there was not the slightest reason for him to trouble himself regarding them.

In March 1912, Pettigrew visited Senvong and he studied the whole situation. He learnt that Mr. Roberts had sent 5 native preachers in the Manipur territory. But since the Political Agent had already telegraphed to Mr. Roberts that his visit to Imphal was un-necessary, its implication meant that he had to withdraw all his native teachers. According to Pettigrew's report 3 of these men were sent within the last few months, apparently after Shakespear's

letter to Mr. Roberts on 30th October 1911, in which Shakespear distinctly warned him not to work in the Manipur State. Also the permission given to Mr. Roberts on 30th May 1910, allowing him to send in native teachers, had been cancelled and he was instructed not to send in more teachers again. But as Pettigrew requested the Political Agent and the Vice-President of the Darbar these men who were already in the State were allowed to remain where they were for the present. In the same month the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Mission formally instructed Pettigrew and Mr. Fox to study the whole situation throughout the Manipur State and its borders, and to report to them what appeared the most promising plan for extending missionary work to other tribes than the Tangkhul Nagas.

It may be noted that in 1908, after the Raja had been installed on the Gadi the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Missionary Society wrote officially to the Darbar through Colonel Shakespear requesting for a permission to work among the Manipuris in the valley. Permission was of course given only to work among the hill tribes, and not in the valley among the Manipuris. No specific reason had been offered for their objection to this, and therefore, Pettigrew could not be satisfied with the reply. Now in view of their having to investigate the situation throughout the Manipur State, Pettigrew and Mr. Fox again requested in March 1912, to re-open the case. Pettigrew wrote:

> After over 18 years missions work in these hills, you are no doubt convinced that just as good work would be carried on among the Manipuris, and that the present condition of things in the valley does not warrant any fear of consequences. Mohammedans can propagate their religion, different sects of Hindus, who refuse to eat with the Manipuris and with whom the Manipuris will not eat, are allowed in the valley without any demur. Why should there be any objection to Christian work?[12]

Pettigrew also quoted in support of his claims, a report of the Worlds' Missionary Conference in Edinburg (Volume VII, pp. 31 and 33) which read:

> The Indian Government can only justify itself in restraining the movements of Europeans, be they traders of preachers, beyond its borders, on the ground of the probability of bloodshed or serious political complications. It has no right to be more restrictive than the peoples or Governments affected. Indeed, as a civilising power, it

should be constantly exercising a moral pressure for the opening up of these lands.

In fact Pettigrew and Mr. Fox wanted to include the work in the Manipur valley in their report, and it was on this ground that they requested the State authorities of Manipur to reopen the matter without further delay. They also wanted to include the Darbar Resolution in their report, if possible. Pettigrew frankly confessed that they had good intentions as well as a great interest in the welfare of the Manipur State.

One of the disadvantages on the part of Watkin Roberts was that, he was not well informed about the political as well as the missionary activities going on inside the Manipur boundary. In fact the State authorities also were not in good terms with him due to his arrogancy and undisciplined manner towards the Political Officers. Somehow he understood that Pettigrew had written to the American Baptist Missionary Society regarding the employment of the 5 Lushai preachers under that Mission. He wrote to Pettigrew saying that he had no less than 70 converts and he had every intention of taking steps to see that the workers who were natives of Manipur were having complete freedom to preach where they liked. If the State authorities again objected to his plans he threatened to bring the matter to the notice of the Home Government. But though he professed a willingness to co-operate with the American Baptist Mission, Pettigrew pointed out the difference between British India and a Native State. Actually Mr. Roberts intended taking no notice issued by the Political Agent, and he was trying to pile up a cloud of witnesses against him. He un-knowingly felt that his missionary activities were hindered by the State authorities under a diabolic impression created by Pettigrew. It was under this impression that he ventured to write one of the most vituperate letters to Pettigrew on 1st April 1912:

Aijal,

Rev. Pettigrew, Imphal.

Yours ninth re Colonel Shakespear's communication received you are being dragged into an attack on Christian work in Senvawn district authorised in 1910 by the Prince of Manipur. Kindly communicate this your Reference Committee. Second Corinthians 2.11--Roberts.

2nd. Cor. 2.11. Lest Satan should get advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.

REFERENCE

1. See Order Book, Volume II, for the years 1901-1916.
2. Diary : Lietenant-Colonel J. Shakespear, Political Agent and Supdt. of the State, dated 25th April 1907.
3. T. Luikham, *A Short History of the Manipur Baptist Christian Golden Jubilee*, p. 21.
4. Mary Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*, pp. 166-67.
5. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew, Missionary, American Baptist Union to W. A. Cosgrave, Vice-President, Manipur State Darbar, Imphal, dated Ukhrul 14th August 1909.
6. Letter from W. A. Cosgrave, V. P., M.S.D., to Rev. W. Pettigrew, Missionary, American Baptist Union, Ukhrul, dated Imphal 20th August 1909.
7. D.O. No. 771-M.S., from Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear, P. A. in Manipur to His Highness the Raja of Manipur, Imphal, dated 15th September 1909.
8. Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 5 of 10th November, 1909.
9. Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 1 of 14th September, 1910, sig., J. C. Higgins, V.P., M.S.D.
10. G. H. Damant, 'Notes on Manipuri Grammer', cited in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Part I (History & Literature, & c.), No. II, 1875, pp. 173-74.
11. J. McSwiney, *Census of India*, 1911, Volume III, Assam, Part I, Report, Shillong, 1912, 'Introduction' (Acknowledgement), p. III.
12. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew, Missionary, Ukhrul, to J. Shakespear, P.A., Manipur State, dated Ukhrul, March 23rd, 1912.

EIGHT

Proposals to Open Missionary Work in Somra

After February 1897, no more official correspondence and records on the Somra Tract were preserved by the Political officers in Manipur as they did not like to include the whole of the Somra Tract within the State boundary. Thus, this little spot remained unclaimed and no improvement programmes were made either by the Manipur State or the neighbouring countries. During the last 15 years the natives of the Somra Tract remained as uncivilised as it had been before. They adopted no specific religion and the crudest form of an animistic faith still prevailed upto the middle of 1912. In April of the same year a few Somra people came up to Ukhrul and they requested Pettigrew to establish a school in the midst of the seven villages of the district. Pettigrew felt that if the Manipur State did not wish to financially help in the matter, the American Baptist Mission or the local Church at Ukhrul would be willing to supply funds for the purpose. In case the State authorities showed no objection to a native worker in the shape of an evangelist who could also do the work of a teacher, Pettigrew had a man, reliable and also willing to go to Somra for a time. But before deciding about the matter, Pettigrew thought it best to get the Somra people to send in a petition to the Political Agent.

Shakespear plainly told Pettigrew that the Manipur State had nothing whatever to do with Somra since the Government of India had already decided that the boundaries of Manipur were not to be enlarged. Although the area between the State boundary and the administered boundary of Burma was at that time unadministered, the Burmese Government sometimes made claims on this particular Tract. This was one of the main reasons why Shakespear could not sanction the permission of sending an envagelist

over the border as because he might be killed or ill-treated by the Somra people, only to provoke the Government for another expedition. In this report to the Chief Commissioner of Assam showing his disapproval to the sending of an evangelist to Somra, Colonel Shakespear furnished the following points:

1. Sanction could not be made to the sending of a Manipur State subject across the border without an approval of the Government, because there was a certain amount of danger of the man being murdered or ill-treated.

2. It was beneficial of course to establish such a school and it was possible that much good might result from it as it would bring the State authorities of Manipur in touch with the people, while at the same time Government could assume no responsibility regarding them or their affairs.

3. There was a certain amount of danger to the School Master, though Pettigrew said he had a reliable and trustworthy man who was ready to go and that the necessary funds would be forthcoming from the Mission or from the Tangkhul Christians. Still the danger lay on the fact that Tangkhul villages were split into several *Khels* and even in the *Khels* there was very little discipline, and therefore, thought the majority of the villages might be aggreeable to the residence of the School Master among them, they might not be able to protect him should any quarrel occurred between him and any one in the village. There was also another possibility of danger from the Kukis who might not approve of the innovation seeing in it the first step to the extension of Government control over their happy hunting grounds.

4. If the School Master was sent with the approval of Government it would be impossible for Government to abstain for punishing the offenders in case of his ill-treatment or murder. The failure to do so would be sure to lead to outrages on any Manipuri subject who might happen to cross the frontier.

5. The people of these 7 Somra villages were practically of the same blood as the Tangkhuls of the Manipur State. Although they had frequently applied to be included among

the State subjects, this seemed impossible as the Govern ment of India objected to the State's boundaries bein enlarged. These requests clearly showed that the people wer anxious to improve their condition and to end the state c lawlessness in which they lived.

The Political Agent thought that Pettigrew might preva on the Somra villages to send him young men to instruct wh could return and become School Masters in their ow villages. Although the Chief Commissioner considered unwise to sanction the despatch of a Manipuri subjec across the border, he was willing to offer a few scholarship of Rs. 4 a month to young men of these Somra villages wh would attend the Ukhrul Mission School. Because such concession would certainly bring in a good effect and im prove the relationships between Manipur and the Somra People.[1]

Matters became more complicated when the Somra question was discussed, because many unwanted problems were again created by Watkin Roberts. The whole situation of the two missionary activities of Pettigrew and Mr. Roberts was prepared in a special note by Shakespear under the title "Note on the Claim of Mr. Roberts to be Allowed to Work Among the Hill Tribes of Manipur". The following are some of the important points drafted by the Political Agent.

In September 1911, Mr. Roberts wrote to Pettigrew on a letter head called Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. He ap peared to consider himself an accredited missionary to all the Thado tribes, but there were no Thados within many days' march of Aijal where Mr. Roberts was established.

As far back as February 1908, Colonel Shakespear had recommended the American Baptist Mission to extend their work among the Thados, and accordingly Mr. Fox, a second missionary to assist work at Ukhrul was posted there afterwards. Shakespear wanted to ascertain whether the American Baptist Mission was really prepared to undertake work in what from Mr. Roberts' letter appeared a most promising field, and he therefore, asked Pettigrew to go to Senvong. At a considerable inconvenience Pettigrew went to that village and on his return he reported that he considered the prospects there hopeful, but found no universal desire

for Christianity. He came in touch with 5 native Christians sent by Mr. Roberts working not only in the villages adjacent to the Lushai border, but also some distance within the State.

Pettigrew claimed that after 18 years' occupation of the Manipur State by the Society he represented, a few questions had to be finally settled before any arrangement were made with Mr. Roberts as representing the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission or with any representing the Welsh Presbyterian Mission. The questions were--his Society's prior claim to undertake such work; the need of further discussion or otherwise of Mr. Roberts' plans, or of any prospective plans of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, or of any other Mission; a clear understanding of the conditions, sphere and limit under which activities of Mr. Roberts or any other Mission could be carried on.

On 3rd November 1911, the Secretary of the District Committee,[2] Silchar, sent a letter to Pettigrew wherein some secret facts about Mr. Roberts were revealed. The Secretary wrote that the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission owed its inception entirely to Mr. Roberts (a lay Congregationalist) whose only connection with the Welsh Mission was due to the fact that he was accidentally in Lushai border under the aegis and support of Dr. Fraser, when a statement was made with regard to this undenominational and the Pioneer Mission in the District Committee. Several members of this Committee were in complete ignorance even as to its existence. With the possible exception of Dr. Fraser, none of the missionaries were consulted in the matter, and the members were unaware that their Directors knew anything about the facts. When it was made clear to the District Committee that this work was being carried on within the field which Pettigrew had for so many years occupied, and without his permission being either given or sought, a very general regret was given expression to. The members of the Committee were informed that the Thado Kukis were allied in race and language to the Lushais; that they were living just across the border, and that at their special request Mr. Roberts persuaded some teachers to go out and help them. But these facts in no way associated the members with Mr. Roberts' action, nor did

they in any way minimised their concern over so serious a breach of amity which obtained among the Protestants Mission. In short the whole operation of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission had taken place outside the knowledge of the District Committee, their consent and their approval.

Some time in April 1912, Pettigrew submitted an application to Colonel Shakespear requesting him to move His Highness the Raja of Manipur and the Darbar for a reconsideration of Resolution No. 2 of 8th January 1908. This resolution was approved by the Darbar in their consideration of a letter from the Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, who solicited the approval of His Highness the Raja and the Darbar to their sanctioning the extension of Pettigrew's work in the Manipur valley. Since the request was not granted, again after four years Pettigrew made an appeal to the Political Agent to consider the case favourably. In his forwading letter to the Raja of Manipur and the Darbar, Shakespear wrote:

> Mr. Pettigrew has been a long time in the State now and did much good work for the State without any pay in the early days when education was first being introduced in the State. Since he has been located among the Tangkhuls he has done much good work there also.[3]

If the Darbar agreed to favourably reconsider the above-mentioned Resolution No. 2, Pettigrew said he would be ready to abide by any rules the State authorities of Manipur prescribed for his guidance. For instance, he would be agreeable to abstain from preaching in the public streets. But the Darbar again resolved on 8th May 1912, stating that there was no reason to alter its resolution already referred to.

The problems created by Mr. Roberts were settled for some time, and no information about his unauthorised advancement in activating missionary work inside the State boundary was officially reported to the Political Agent. Pettigrew now wanted to finalise the matter regarding the appointment of some evangelists who would go to the Somra Tract. But the Chief Commissioner of Assam demanded more explanations on the grant of a few scholarships of Rs. 4 a month at the Ukhrul Mission School to Somra villagers, i.e., how many scholarships were to be given and whether it would be offered by the Manipur State or by the Local Administration.

As a matter of fact, Shakespear was no expert in deciding plans on educational expenses, and naturally he had to call attention of Pettigrew who was quite familiar with educational matters gained from his ealier experiences when he acted as an Honorary Inspector of Schools in Manipur. His suggestions were in itself interesting. Pettigrew said he was still in favour of allowing an evangelist to be stationed in the midst of the Somra villagers, because it was very doubtful if any of the boys would be willing to remain at Ukhrul for three years living on Rs. 4 a month. He suggested that a hostel of seven boys and an interpreter could be erected on the Mission compound for Rs. 50.

According to Pettigrew, if the State was willing to issue a parwana in the name of the Darbar saying that one boy from each village, but seven in number, should come in, and that an interpreter or one who had smattering of Manipuri should also be sent in to look after them in a hostel specially constructed but kept apart from them, then it might be possible. It could not be expected that Rs. 4 a month would entice anybody from that direction. He therefore suggested Rs. 6 a month, because after February of each year, the Ukhrul village did not sell rice under 3/8 to Rs. 4 per maund.

Pettigrew's suggestion of issuing parwanas calling on the Somra villages to send in scholars and an interpreter was decided as inadmissible, because the Government of India had on several occasions refused to admit the claims of the Manipur State to exercise any control over the transfrontier villages. If the Chief Commissioner of Assam could not sanction Pettigrew's request of sending evangelists across the frontier, Colonel Shakespear promised four scholarships of Rs. 6 monthly to be placed at the disposal of the missionary at least for a year. But Pettigrew himself had to persuade the villagers which wanted education to send in that number of youths. At the end of each year he was to report in favour of a continuance or even extension of the scholarships which Government would feel sure to approve. If the local Church at Ukhrul was prepared to find funds for the maintenance of evangelists in the Somra Tract, Pettigrew believed that there would be no difficulty about the recruitment of the four scholars. After three years of instructions at the Ukhrul

Mission School, the youths had to return to their original villages and open schools. Actually there was a constant intercourse between the Manipur people and the transfrontier folk. Many of the Tangkhuls on the State side of the border were close blood relations of the people in the Somra villages, so that it was thought hard to prohibit a Tangkhul crossing the border just because he was an evangelist, when other Tangkhuls crossed and re-crossed at their pleasure.

After a careful consideration Shakespear finally recommended in anticipation of the Chief Commissioner's approval, four scholarships of Rs. 6 a month, to be offered by the Local Administration for one year to the boys from the Somra country who would come to get instructions at the Ukhrul Mission School.[4]

The Somra question looked like a secondary plan to Pettigrew in comparison with his desire to have a chance of free preaching among the Hindu Manipuris in the valley. It was under this assumption of receiving a favourable response from the State authorities that in April 1912, he submitted an application to Colonel Shakespear asking for a reconsideration of Darbar resolution no. 2 of 8th January 1908. His Highness the Raja of Manipur took up the matter with sympathy and thus he returned the Darbar resolution no. 3 of 8th May 1912, for another reconsideration. On 3rd July, the Darbar offered the following reasons more in details explaining the causes of their objection:

> 1. The State being a Hindu State, the Darbar naturally regards with disfavour and apprehension any attempt to change the established religion of the Raja and his people.
>
> 2. A vast field of labour exists among the semi-civilised tribes of the hills, and the Darbar is of opinion that the Mission would do well to direct its energies to these tribes before launching out among a people which is in a more advanced stage of civilisation, possesses an accredited religion and is consequently less in need of the attentions of the Mission.[5]

In the same month Pettigrew received two very disheartening letters from the Political Agent– one was the above-mentioned Darbar Resolution and the other was the rejection of the Chief Commissioner of Assam to his sending an evangelist to the Somra villages and the offer of scholarships to Somra youths. These objections, however, did not seem to

treat their friendly relations to the State with due consideration which they felt their position merited, nor did it seem to understand the principle of extending the work of the Mission. Pettigrew and Mr. Fox confessed that their work was conducted in co-operation with that of the State, both in the matter of the extension of education, and in the matter of law and order. Their aim was to benefit and uplift the people wherever they had to go, and their work never ceased with the progress of civilisation and enlightenment, but increased its responsibilites as these advanced. Hence no matter how high the attainments of men they were ever with them as friend and helper. Pettigrew and Mr. Fox, therefore, made a joint appeal to Colonel Shakespear:

> If the Raja or any of his subjects hold any suspicion against our religion, let them examine our history, and we believe that they will be fully convinced that its principles as above set forth are true, and that its influence will be no less for the good than it has been heretofore among other peoples, and is now among the nations of the world. They need not fear us, we are here to do them good, and we welcome the opportunity for such service. You will not be gainers by confining us to the hills, nor will the hills lose by our entering the valley. The larger the territory and the greater the number of people to which we have access, the greater does the Mission consider the demand for an increase in its working force. We are certain of a greater response on the part of the Mission Society which is doing a world-wide work, if we ask for workers for the whole State rather than for its outlying districts only.[6]

Both the missionaries requested the State authorities to take no offence or suspect no antagonism on their part, on account of their eagerness for a free and open territory, and also their intention of continuing efforts to secure the necessary permissions by referring the matter to the Reference Committee in Assam.

Pettigrew's proposal on the establishment of Technical Education at Ukhrul which he submitted to W. A. Cosgrave the then Vice-President of the Darbar in November 1909, was reopened again for another consideration. Upto July 1912, he still did not give up hopes for such a department to be established if the Darbar were ready to extend aid to it. In fact, the main objective of the introduction of Technical Education at Ukhrul was to make both Christians and workmen. Unfortunately before a final decision was made on the question of Technical Education at Ukhrul, during

October 1912, Pettigrew left the Mission Headquarters for a furlough and he handed over charge of missionary work to Mr. Fox who continued with assistance from A. Porom Singh, T. Luikham, M. K. Shimray, K. Vareichung, R. Honrei and Ngulhao etc.

Mr. Fox was already making plans to open other Mission stations in the hill districts of Manipur. He had a wish to establish stations in renting grounds as they did at Ukhrul and to buy land for Mission purposes. Colonel Shakespear showed no objection to the Mission's purchasing the land, but somehow Mr. Fox wanted to receive a final agreement in writing from the Vice-President of the Darbar. He wished to have as many stations in the hills as the Society thought fit to establish to meet the needs of the work in the hill districts, i.e., Maram, or Mao, or Mayangkhang, where an Industrial School could be run to an advantage. Mr. Fox was even ready to inform his Society regarding this, before they could intelligently act upon a further extension of the Mission work in the Manipur State.

The Darbar fully appreciated the missionaries' friendly relations to the State and recognised gratefully their efforts in the extension of education. While in no way suspicious of their religion and fully conscious of their Mission's high aims and previous good work, the Darbar thought it could not but be clear to any but a bigot why it desired to prevent attempts to convert the Manipuri population from Hinduism, which was the established religion of His Highness the Raja and the bulk of his subjects, to Christianity.

Before Pettigrew left the State for furlough he expressed an eagerness for a free and open territory, and to secure this main objective he referred the matter to the Reference Committee in Assam during July 1912. As a consequence of this, Mr. P. H. Moore and Mr. A. Judson Tuttle who were respectively Chairman and Secretary of the Assam Reference Committee placed an appeal to the Political Agent of Manipur during October to further strengthen the former request of Pettigrew. The Committee felt regretted that the Darbar could not see its way to grant the request of Pettigrew and Mr. Fox for a permission to carry on Mission work in the Manipur valley. According to the view of the Committee, the refusal to

permit their Mission to carry on work in the Manipur valley as well as in other hill tracts, placed an unjust ban upon Christianity. But as missionaries and funds were not yet available for work in the valley, the members of the Reference Committee concluded that it was not immediately necessary to further press the point.

After the departure of Pettigrew, Mr. Fox found himself a little difficult to engage the whole missionary enterprise and so he reported his position to Mr. A. Judson Tuttle. Accordingly, during November 1912, Mr. Fox was informed that one Rev. J. E. Tanquist with his wife were expecting to arrive in Manipur to join at the Ukhrul headquarters before the middle of January 1913. However, the Board of Managers in America did not like to adopt the plan proposed by the Reference Committee in sending another missionary family at Ukhrul to strengthen the Mission station in Manipur. Thus, Mr. Fox was left alone at Ukhrul for the time being. He had, of course, a large work in hand there and the Reference Committee feared that he might not be able to extend his operations among the Thado-Kukis on the west side of the Manipur valley, till another missionary was sent to his assistance. He was instructed to superintend a few Kuki schools, if the Darbar expressed an objection for the purpose.

When the Reference Committee was requested to supply informations on the proposed schemes for the educational as well as the evangelising works among the Kuki tribes of Manipur they could not furnish an outline of a detailed scheme that Mr. Fox was to undertake for the Kukis. He was simply to supply a few teachers from the Kuki pupils stationed at Ukhrul, and superintend their work in the village schools. However, the Political Agent said no grants could be made unless Manipuri was taught among the Kuki tribes also. Actually the State had no funds and the Mission received far more than its share of the Hill Education grant for the Tangkhul Schools. It was very doubtful, the Political Agent thought, how Mr. Fox was going to do any work among the Thados if he continued to carry on his work among the Tangkhuls.

Several of the big Kuki chiefs, notably Kamkhulen

(Kamkhawluna - Roberts' spelling) of Senvong and Nguilen of Khongyang expressed their unwillingness to have schools or missionaries in their villages. They faced their objections on the unsettling influence that missionary effort had on the hill-men, and as they were responsible for the good behaviour of their villages, the Vice-President of the Darbar was also not inclined to support any missionaries whose teachings tended to weaken the chief's authority. Therefore, when Colonel Shakespear was at Namoutha of the Kabaw Valley on a tour he drafted a letter to the Assam Reference Committee on 1st February 1913, telling them the refusal of the Vice-President to find funds for the educational work of the Mission among the Kukis, and so he requested the Reference Committee to close the matter for all.

In August (1913) Colonel Shakespear came down to Ukhrul and inspected the Mission School where he discussed education and Mission problems with Mr. Fox. The school work seemed very good, but he thought that the standards should conform to those of the Government Schools. Otherwise when a boy wished to carry on his education in one of the State Schools it was hard to place him in a suitable class. The student might be up to the work of a class in one subject but not in others. Shakespear thought it to be a mistake to teach all scholars the Ukhrul dialect of the Tangkhuls. Even among the Tangkhuls this dialect was not understood more than a day's journey in any direction and yet the Kuki boys were being put through a course in this Tangkhul dialect. Mr. Fox agreed with Shakespear and he expressed that it was really a mistake. He promised to introduce Manipuri language instead of Tangkhul dialect in such cases.

Regarding his personal matters, Mr. Fox was rather inclined to think Ukhrul too isolated a spot for Mission work and he preferred a more central one on the main road. Work among the Tangkhuls was very suitable, but for general work among the other hill tribes of Manipur it was not of course, well chosen.[7] His request to open fresh Mission stations in the other hill areas of Manipur, like--Mao, Maram and Mayangkhang was finally declined by the Manipur State

Darbar during August 1913. The Darbar resolution did not dishearten Mr. Fox, and he again requested Colonel Shakespear to represent and argue the matter in favour of the Mission Society. Considering carefully on the refusal of the Darbar to sanction the opening of fresh Mission stations in the hills, the Political Agent now addressed the matter to His Highness the Raja and the Darbar. He requested to draw their attention to the Vice-President's letter of 11th January 1908, which read as follows:

> I have the honour on behalf of the Darbar to inform you that His Highness the Raja and the Darbar have no objection to the Baptist Missionary Union working in the hills but do not want their missionaries to work in the Manipur valley.[8]

Copies of this letter were forwarded to the Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union and Pettigrew. The main points of the letter certainly meant that the Darbar had then no objection to the Mission extending its work in the hills, and in consequence of this the Mission sent a second missionary. Shakespear spoke in favour of the Mission that it had conducted its work in the State without causing any offence, and he was now unaware of any reason for a change of opinion on the part of the Darbar. He wrote:

> I would remind you that Mr. Pettigrew did much good work for the State acting for several years an Inspector of Valley Schools without any pay and I understand the Mission is anxious to introduce technical education which would be extremely useful.[9]

Shakespear's request was not duly respected, and in a meeting of the Darbar held on 17th September 1913, they resolved to adhere to its resolution no. 7 of 20th August. Mr. J. C. Higgins who was the Vice-President of the Darbar explained that the Darbar had no intention of sanctioning the extension of work of the American Baptist Mission in the hills. Becuase the Mission station at Ukhrul was established at a time when His Highness the Raja and the Darbar had no say in the matter. While recognising with gratitude the assistance given by Pettigrew and Mr. Fox in educational matters, the Darbar had no sympathy with their work as missionaries and was strongly opposed to their Mission's sphere of action being extended in any way within the State. It was unfortunate, Mr. Higgins informed, that the resolution referred to was so ambiguously worded as to give the impression that the Darbar was willing to consider an extension in

the hills with favour. All that it was intended to convey was that they accepted the existing state of affairs as irrevocable. He also charged the Mission that the Darbar was never consulted on the question of an extension of the Society's work among the Thados.

Colonel Shakespear could not easily accept this explanation as very authentic. He invited Mr. W. A. Cosgrave to discuss the matter, who explained to Shakespear exactly what the Darbar's feelings were, viz., the Darbar members were not keen on Christianity but had no objection to the missionaries working in the hills as they did not care what heppened to the *Haus*. Shakespear pointed out that by Rule 14 of the *Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur*, the Darbar had nothing to do with the hill tribes and there was no need to consult with them in the matter. As because the hill tribes of Manipur were administered by the President of the Darbar assisted by one or more officers on His Highness's behalf in accordance with rules approved by the Government of Assam. His Highness was to be consulted in all matters of importance, and the Political Agent, in consultation with the President, was to give effect to His Highness's wishes as far as was consistent with the orders of the Government of Assam. If the Political Agent were unable to agree to His Highness's proposals, the matter had to be, if His Highness so desired, referred to the Government.[10] It was in support of this Rule No. 14 on the management of the hill tribes of Manipur that Shakespear wished to lay the matter before the Chief Commissioner.

In the midst of these ever increasing problems existed between the American Baptist Mission and the State authorities of Manipur, Mr. Roberts made an unofficial approach to Mr. Fox to request on his behalf, to the State authorities for a permission to establish his Mission station within the Manipur boundary. Mr. Roberts clearly mentioned that he belonged to the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. But the Darbar, in its meeting of the 22nd October 1913, resolved that they strongly disapproved the formation of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission in Manipur, and did not desire the presence of Mr. Roberts or his emissaries within the State boundary. In the next month the Chief Secretary of Assam

advised Shakespear that no action should be taken unless Mr. Roberts attempted to enter Manipur.

Shakespear's warning to intimate the Chief Commissioner regarding the unsettled disputes on behalf of the American Baptist Mission caused a little irritation to Mr. Higgins. Although he could not vouch for the Darbar's feelings in 1908, Mr. Higgins assured that there was no change of opinion in the past three and half years during which time they had consistently opposed to the extension of the sphere of missionary efforts. He also assured the Political Agent that the Darbar did not look with favour upon the extension of Christianity within the State and they only tolerated the existence of a Mission at Ukhrul because it was an established fact and there was no prospect of ousting it.

Mr. Higgins clearly understood the position of the Darbar as regards the administration of the hill areas of Manipur. But the Rule which Shakespear referred to, indicated that in matters of importance His Highness the Raja was to be consulted in accordance with previous custom. He therefore, believed that His Highness the Raja also shared the opinion of the Darbar in this matter. When the Chief Commissioner of Assam visited Manipur during the last week of November 1913, Shakespear placed the matter before him for a final decision. The Chief Commissioner agreed to the proposals put up by Shakespear, but he ordered that the Darbar could not be allowed to go ahead by basing on its previous resolution.

Matters remained at a standstill upto March 1914, when Mr. Tuttle, Secretary of the Assam Baptist Mission revived their claims again. He appealed to Colonel Shakespear that the Darbar resolution No. 7 of 20th August 1913, did not harmonize with the previous history of the relations existed between the Manipur State and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. While the missionaries were free to prosecute Mission work without restraint among the hill tribes of the State constituting a vast field of labour, the Mission itself was not permitted to establish another station in the immediate future in the hills of Manipur. Their plan was to extend work to the several hill tribes of Manipur from stations conveniently and centrally located for these

various tribes. The Mission, therefore, could not acquiesce in the abovementioned Darbar resolution no. 7. As soon as the Mission had realised funds and the men for the cultivation of other parts in the hill tracts, Mr. Tuttle was ready to apply for specific sites on which to establish one or more new stations in parts of the State deemed advantageous for the prosecution of their work among the hill tribes of Manipur.

During the absence of Pettigrew, the American Baptist Mission in Manipur did not make progress both in the extension of missionary activities and educational affairs. Matters remained as it were before Pettigrew left the State. Taking advantage of this situation, Mr. Roberts aggressively put through some unauthorised actions in the south-west of Manipur. On 31st December 1914, the Vice-President of the Darbar made a report to the Political Agent that nine of Mr. Roberts's evangelists had established themseleves in the seven villages without any permission from the State authorities and they were preaching amongst the people. The chiefs of Senvong and Songsang told the Vice-President that these men came to their villages against their wish. As a result, the Vice-President issued parwanas to these evangelists to leave the State within a month, failing which they were liable to punishment for disobedience of orders. The men and the villages were: Dala of Senvong; Savom of Senvong; Taishen of Senvong; Thoma of Songsang; Taithe of Leishen; Loiya of Parbung; Thanlun of Pherjol; Dengrum of Thingangphai and Vunga of Kailen. On receipt of this parwana Mr. Roberts wrote back to the Vice-President to protest, and he admitted that workers were sent wherever they were invited.

Mr. Fox left Ukhrul in January 1915. He tried to stay at Sibsagar but due to some personal inconvenience he had to go back to America in the same month. He was determined almost from the very first to leave the field and therefore, Pettigrew charged him with all the responsibilities of the official correspondence passed between him and the State authorities of Manipur, during his absence on furlough. After Mr. Fox left the Ukhrul headquarters in January 1915, Pettigrew took up charge of missionary work in February next. Still he could not move the Darbar and His Highness

the Raja of Manipur to sanction him permission for the establishment of other Mission stations in the hill areas.

After the issue of the parwanas to the nine evangelists who worked under Mr. Robert's directions, the Vice-President of the Darbar felt it necessary to explain the reasons for the expulsion of the preachers. On 15th January 1915, he wrote to Mr. Roberts:

> I am surprised that you ventured to visit Senvong in view of the fact that you are well aware that permission was refused to your Mission to work in the Manipur State and that the presence of you and your emissaries is unwelcome.[11]

Although Mr. Roberts asserted that His Highness the Raja granted him permission to open schools in the State, this did not include permission to preach Christianity. In fact the Raja never granted him any such permission because as far back as September 1911, His Highness the Raja wrote to the Vice-President of the Darbar:

> I remember some months ago I had a talk with Colonel Shakespear about this Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission and I do not know whether it was about this Mr. Roberts, but at that time I think nothing was finally settled, as we agreed to postpone the matter till he came out to Manipur. I have not given any written permission for this.[12]

In view of this letter of His Highness, the presence of Mr. Roberts and his agents in Manipur was unauthorised and uninvited. Mr. Higgins' order to the emissaries to leave the State within a month was actuated by the following reasons:

1. Mr. Roberts was distinctly given to understand that he would be permitted to work in the Manipur State, either personally or through his agents.

2. In the event of the State deciding to permit missionary work among any of the Kuki tribes, the American Baptist Mission as pioneers of missionary work in the State, would be given preference. This promise was given in response to representations made by the Mission on learning Mr. Roberts' intentions.

3. His Highness the Raja and the Darbar were opposed to the extension of missionary endeavour in the hills.

4. The Kuki Chiefs in general, and two of the Chiefs in particular in whose villages Mr. Roberts's evangelists were working, were averse to the presence of missionaries in their villages. These two chiefs (the only two whom the Vice-

President was able to consult on the matter) were emphatic in their request that the agents should be ousted, on the ground that their teaching was subversive of Kuki custom and authority of the chief.

In January 1915, Mr. B. C. Allen, the Chief Secretary of Assam wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur saying that objection should rightly be taken to the previous actions of Mr. Roberts. There were upwards of 200 Christians in the State nominally attached to Roberts' Mission, under 13 teachers, 3 of whom were born in Manipur. Therefore, provisions had to be made for their spiritual needs, and the best solution, according to B. C. Allen, was to place them under the American Baptist Mission. But it was doubtful whether they or Mr. Roberts would agree. Mr. Allen enquired whether the Political Agent would allow the existing evangelists to remain and others prohibited from entering Manipur, or that an enclave could be set aside in which approved Lushais might be allowed to work; or whether Mr. Roberts might be allowed to visit provided he did not set up a Mission, or be prohibited from entering Manipur at all. In reply to these enquiries made by B. C. Allen, the Political Agent of Manipur gave his opinion that the expulsion of most of the workers would be justified by the fact that they entered the State after the issue of the Political Agent's letter of 18th March 1912, but there was no necessity for such course at the moment. Though the extension of Christianity by native agency could not be prevented, the establishment of new European Mission centers should not be allowed in the State.

It would be interesting to reveal some important facts recorded in a *Memorandum of Conversation* which took place on 21st January 1915, between Mr. Roberts and the Chief Secretary of Assam, Watkin Roberts originally came out to the Lushai Hills in 1908 as an honorary worker with Dr. Fraser, but not as a member of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission. By 1915, he was the Secretary of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. The only other European missionary in India was Mr. Kehl, a German gentleman who was a resident in Calcutta. In 1909 Mr. Roberts sent a copy of the Gospels to Kamkhawluna, a Thado Chief of Senvong in the Manipur

State. He heard that this Thado Chief could read Lushai, and therefore, he sent the book through a villager of Senvong who happened to visit Aijal. Mr. Roberts did not mention this matter to Colonel Cole and Shakespear. In January next year, he received back this copy of the Gospels with an endorsement on the fly-leaf to the effect that the Chief would be glad if Mr. Roberts could visit his village and start Christian schools amongst them.

Mr. Roberts decided to answer this appeal, and he thus informed the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District of his intentions. Colonel Cole stated that a reference should first be made to the Political Agent of Manipur, but in anticipation of the sanction Mr. Roberts was instructed to proceed ahead. At that time Mr. Roberts did not ask for permission to start any missionary work. When he visited Senvong the Chief offered to build a school and houses for the workers if Mr. Roberts would send them. After visiting some other villages in the neighbourhood he returned to the Lushai Hills.

Some time in March 1910, he made a request to Colonel Shakespear for a permission to send Lushai workers at Senvong and to extend their work amongst the Thado Kuki villagers in that locality. The Political Agent intimated that the Raja of Manipur had allowed Lushai workers to visit Senvong and work there; but Mr. Roberts wrongly presumed that this permission also applied to work in that locality. He was inclined to infer from the letter that the State might perhaps assist in the educational part if asked to do so, provided that education was given either in the Kuki or in the Manipuri language. He told the Political Agent that three workers had already started for Senvong.

Actually Pettigrew had no objection to Mr. Roberts undertaking work amongst the Thado Kukis in the southern part of the State; because he was also trying to induce his own Society to start work in the northern sections of this tribe. In 1910, Mr. Roberts had already 30 Christians in the State, with 7 workers in the field. The school boys were being supported by the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. These workers continued to labour among the Thado Kukis in Manipur in accordance with the permission originally received, although Mr. Roberts did not visit the State, or correspond

with the Political Agent. He supplied rice to the persons who suffered from bad harvests during the year 1911, and distributed medicines through his Lushai agents. In the beginning of 1912, the Christians among the Thado Kukis numbered between 60 or 70 souls, and they invited Mr. Roberts to pay a visit into the State. But immediately Colonel Shakespear sent a message to the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills with instructions to stop Mr. Roberts from entering Manipur.

There was a village in the southern part of the State which wished to adopt Christianity. Pettigrew did not know much about the locality, and he thus asked Mr. Roberts whether he could give him any information or an introduction to his Lushai workers there. Mr. Roberts thought that Pettigrew should not have attempted to enter a field in which he had already begun work, and he wired to Pettigrew to that effect. This telegram was shown to Colonel Shakespear who informed Pettigrew during a personal interview, that no permission had been granted to Mr. Roberts to send workers into the State. Pettigrew, therefore, demanded Mr. Roberts to show him the authority for sending in the Mission workers.

Subsequently in 1912, the workers in Senvong informed Mr. Roberts that Pettigrew had visited the village and he offered to give them Rs. 15 a month plus allowance in place of Rs. 7 then paid to them by Mr. Roberts, if they would agree to join the American Baptist Mission. The workers, however, were of the opinion that they were not working merely for the sake of pecuniary gain, but with the object of helping the people. Pettigrew still insisted the workers that he would intercede for them with Colonel Shakespear to abstain from ejecting them from the State. It thus appeared that as far back as 1912, the question of their ejection was under consideration.

Mr. Roberts vehemently warned his followers that there was no danger of their being expelled, and if necessary, he said, the matter would be brought to the notice of the Home Government. Pettigrew sent a somewhat curt reply and he put up the matter before his Reference Committee. Mr. Roberts did not enter the State till the end of 1914, on his way to Aijal when he came up via Tipaimukh and visited Senvong.

He was at home in 1913, and next year he visited America where he met the Secretary of the American Baptist Mission Society who gave him a welcome and promised co-operation with him in every possible way.

During 1913-14, the work was carried on in Manipur at the expense of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission, and by January next year there were 213 Christians in Senvong and the neighbouring district. Apart from the 13 workers, the native Christians determined to support at their own expense the extra workers. In 1914, the Mission was spending about 200 a year in Manipur which was disbursed either through Aijal or Imphal. Out of the 13 workers as far as Mr. Roberts knew, only 3 (Lualand, Lalpan and Thangkai) were born in Manipur. At least 3 others were living in the State before they became workers. The majority of the 200 remaining Christians were born in Manipur. Mr. Roberts was willing to delimit the sphere of interest of his Mission in Manipur if desired.

In a Note dated 8th February 1915, Mr. Roberts recorded some of his own personal intentions why he ventured to set up the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. This Note was addressed to the Political Agent of Manipur to demonstrate the reasons of his protest against the Order of 18th March 1912. On August 8th, 1911, Pettigrew wrote that the Secretary of the American Baptist Mission wanted all particulars of the Kukis of Manipur with a view to extending their work among them, and they asked if Mr. Roberts, or Dr. Fraser or the Welsh Calvinistic Mission intended taking up work in Manipur. Again on 29th August 1911, Pettigrew wrote to Mr. Roberts:

> We are very pleased to hear report of God's blessing among the Thado Kukis in the South and trust all will go well with the converts. We have two bright Thados in our schools here and expect they will be workers among the Northern Thados later on. Thanks about the information. You will remember my telling you of our Society's intention to open up work among the Thado Kukis in the State and it is therefore necessary before making final arrangements, to know just how you intend to carry on this work and how far also. The American Baptist Mission have not yet organised work among these tribes and have no missionaries who speak their language.[13]

Mr. Roberts had several letters in his possession received from the village chiefs thanking the Mission for

commencing work in their villages. One Chief and two or three sons of Chiefs were also among the 200 odd converts. The son of the Senvong Chief even intended to stay with Mr. Roberts at Asansol at the latter's expense for three or four months. He had reduced one of the dialects into writing during 1911, and a booklet was then printed in that language. He also translated parts of the Scriptures and other books into Thado language which were accepted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, to publish. This well known Society printed in the early parts of 1915, a Reference to the work of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission in their Annual Report, and so it might be counted to have recognised its standing among Protestant Missions. Members of the Church Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society (English), American Meth. Ep. Society and other well known societies were also co-operating with the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission in other branches of its work.

Some years previous to the formation of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission, Colonel Shakespear made an appeal through Rev. D. E. Jones, Aijal, of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission to commence work among the Thado Kukis. Mr. Jones referred the matter to the notice of their District Committee in Khasia Hills who again referred to the Home Directors. The Directors did not feel that they could undertake the expense of this new work, but a Primer was then arranged in one of the dialects by Mr. Jones, which was still available upto 1915. It naturally appeared that Shakespear was evidently interested in these people and he was anxious that some one should come forward and commence Christian work among them. This, no doubt, seemed apparent for his readiness to approach His Highness the Raja of Manipur in 1910, when he was requested by Mr. Roberts to do so.

In March 1915, the Chief Commissioner of Assam was informed that a considerable number of persons working in the neighbourhood of Senvong had entered the State after the issue of clear and definite instructions. According to the Chief Commissioner no missionary work should be initiated or pursued in a wild and savage part of a Native State in direct defiance of the wishes of the Ruler as had been communicated through the Political Agent. He, therefore, asked Mr.

Roberts to explain why, in spite of the prohibition conveyed through Colonel Shakespear, which had never been withdrawn and which could not possibly have been misunderstood, Mr. Roberts entered the State and visited Senvong. It was of course open to Mr. Roberts to appeal to the Local Government against these Orders, but he clearly was not at liberty simply to ignore them. For various reasons and more particularly, in view of the strong opposition offered by the Darbar, the Chief Commissioner was unable to reconsider the orders prohibiting Mr. Roberts from establishing a Mission station in Manipur. But he was of the opinion that some provision could be made for the requirements of the Christians who were actually living in Senvong and the neighbourhood.

Mr. Roberts was offered two alternatives: that, either his evangelists should remain under him, although he would not be allowed to enter Manipur; or, his evangelists and Christians should in future be supervised either by the American Baptist Mission at Manipur or by the Welsh Calvinistic Mission at Aijal with the consent and approval of both parties. The Chief Commissioner was inclined to think that the second course was preferable for it could hardly be satisfactory for Mr. Roberts to be in nominal charge of a Mission, the sphere of which he would not be permitted to enter. Even if the Darbar were to agree to the first proposal, and even if it were accepted by the Chief Commissioner, it was necessary to define once for all the exact tract within which Mr. Roberts' evangelists would be allowed to work. In a very wise manner Mr. Roberts accepted the first proposal and gave his consent to the Chief Secretary of Assam in writing on 11 June 1915.

Pettigrew became anxious to have settled the question of an extension of missionary work in the State, as because the Mission could not proceed on more extensive lines even at Ukhrul until the matter was finally confirmed by the State authorities. Thus, he requested Mr. Cole, the newly appointed Political Agent of Manipur to finalise it before he left Shillong during June 1915. He also made a protest indicating that whatever correspondence had passed between Mr. Fox and the Darbar during 1913 and 1914 was entirely on

the individual responsibility of Mr. Fox. He felt that it would have been far better if Mr. Fox had decided to let matters of that description until his return from furlough. If there were in any of the remarks made by Mr. Fox towards the Darbar such that would cause them to feel hurt or embittered against the Mission, Pettigrew requested Mr. Cole to make the Raja understand that Mr. Fox had written on his own responsibility. On 15th June 1915, Pettigrew wrote to Mr. Cole at Shillong requesting him to finalise the question of extension for the missionary work among the other hill tribes of Manipur:

> It may have been due to some of Mr. Fox's unfortunate phrasing of some of his letters, but that such a change should have been made in my absence, seems to me to point to the attitude they were taking up before my going on furlough, and this so to speak, put the finishing touch to it. Whatever may be said on the point, it is very evident to me from past experience with them, that they took the opportunity to make this slap in the face while my back was turned.
>
> I don't think it is right to limit our work among the tribes of Manipur on the ground that they want to get rid of the missionary element in their educational work. It needed somebody outside their own conservativeness to establish the work of education in the State, and although I say it in no boasting spirit, they would not be where they are today, if the Mission had not given its missionary, his time and labour to the developing of education in the State.[14]

As a matter of fact, it was not Pettigrew's sole desire to establish the Mission only in the hill areas of Manipur. He came to the State in 1894, with a permission to reside at Imphal, and he hoped that in spite of the Darbar, the way might be opened in due course for the original desire to be granted. Yet the Political Agent of Manipur was seemingly reluctant to interfere with the discretion of the State in such matters. He wanted definite proposals of the American Baptist Mission Society to the plans of their establishing new stations in the hill tracts of Manipur. As Pettigrew mentioned in his letter, the State authorities of Manipur had 'put a finishing touch' on their correspondence of an extension of missionary work among other hill tracts during the short term period of Mr. Fox at Ukhrul. Pettigrew could do nothing but to be loyal towards the British authority, and therefore, he remained silent for six months working hard in the educational matters of the Tangkhul tribe only. He longed to see another opportunity to win the favour from the high officials of the State.

After the offer of two alternatives to Mr. Roberts, he wrote back to the Chief Secretary of Assam saying that he did not ask for any permission to open a European Mission in Manipur, but he preferred that the workers of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission should remain under his orders. He was even ready to accept the Chief Commissioner's suggestion of an exact tract under which the workers of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission were to be allowed to work with clear and definite demarcations once for all.

Dhala, the head evangelist of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission appeared in August and he informed the Political Agent that the Mission had 250 converts in 12 villages and in 7 of these villages there were schools. All the educated boys came from the Aijal School and that Dhala received his funds, books etc., through Mr. Jones. After he received this information, the Political Agent passed an Order on 18th August 1915, to the effect that Dhala should not extend his operations to new villages until the next cold weather of 1916, when natural boundaries would be defined for his activities. He was also instructed that as far as possible he would be offered arrangements to work in an area where the language spoken was intelligible to the Lushais.

REFERENCE

1. Letter from Lieutenant Colonel J. Shakespear, P. A. in Manipur to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, No. 24, M. S., dated Imphal, 9th April 1912.
2. The District Committee was composed of all the missionaries.
3. Letter from J. Shakespear to His Highness the Raja of Manipur and the Darbar, No. 103, M. S., dated Impahl, 30th April 1912.
4. D.O. Letter No. 34 P. T., from Sir Archdale Earle, Chief Commissioner of Assam to J. Shakespear, dated 29th June 1912.
5. Resolution No. 1 of the Manipur State Darbar, dated 3rd July, 1912.
6. Letter from Messrs. Pettigrew and U. M. Fox Missionaries to J. Shakespear, dated Ukhrul, 18th July, 1912.
7. Diary : J. Shakespear, P. A. in Manipur, dated 12th August 1913.
8. Letter No. 370 from W. A. Cosgrave, Vice-President of the Manipur State Darbar to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Impahl, 11th January 1908.
9. Letter No. 550 M. S. from J. Shakespear to His Highness the Raja and the Darbar, dated Impahl, 9th September 1913.

10. G. P. Stewart, Sig., *Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur*, dated 14th September 1935, p. 3.
11. Letter from the Vice-President of the Manipur State Darbar to Watkin R. Roberts, dated 15th January 1915.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew to Watkin R. Roberts, dated 29th August, 1911, cited in the *Note*, dated 8th February 1915.
14. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew, Missionary to H. W. G. Cole, C/O the Honorable Mr. B. E. Allen, Shillong, dated Ukhrul, 15th June 1915.

NINE

Manipur Labour Corps and the Revolt of the Kukis

At his own responsibility in December 1915, Pettigrew applied to the Vice-President of the Darbar requesting for a proposed tour in the western hills of Manipur. The Darbar was strongly opposed to his extending operations in the hills beyond the Tangkhul tribe, but in the event of permission being ultimately granted for such extension, it was meant to be only on submission of some considered scheme of utility apart from the spiritual benefits conferred by the spread of Christianity. Mr. Higgins could do nothing for Pettigrew in the way of assisting him to make the tour in a portion of the State in which he had no sanction to work. But of course, as a favourable consideration to the missionary, he stated that there would be no objection to Mrs. Pettigrew who wanted to remain in the Imphal Dak Bungalow during Pettigrew's absence at Gauhati or elsewhere.

Pettigrew also applied to the Vice-President of the Darbar for a proposed change of residence, to which the Political Agent was to lay before the Darbar the proposals of Pettigrew to reside somewhere on the Kohima Cart Road, between Kangpokpi and Mao. In spite of having a good residential headquarters either at Kangpokpi or at Mao, Pettigrew thought that it was less better than to reside at Imphal with or without converts. After giving due considerations to his proposals the Darbar finally intimated one of its resolutions to the missionary:

> The Darbar, being opposed to the spread of Christianity in other parts of the State than the Tangkhul Hills, where a vast field of labour still exists, is unwilling to permit any missionary to reside permanently or work elsewhere than at Ukhrul. But the Darbar, in view of Mr. Pettigrew's ill health, has no objection to his residing temporarily at Imphal, for periods of a few weeks at a time, provided he does not preach or proselytise when so residing.[1]

During January 1916, Pettigrew came upto Imphal and he had a personal interview with Mr. Higgins. He frankly told the Vice-President that permission was offered to undertake a tour in a part of the hills. This surprised both the Political Agent and the Vice-President. Mr. Higgins wanted to make his position clear by stating that he did not feel justified in authorising the proposed tour unless His Highness the Raja accorded his permission, vetoing the decision of the Darbar, as he had the power to do; or unless the Political Agent overrode the decision of the Darbar on his own responsibility, without referring the matter to Government, which he was not prepared to do; or unless the Government issued orders that Pettigrew could be permitted to extend his sphere of operations.

Actually the Political Agent was prepared to give his personal support to any schemes the Mission could formulate which would substantially advance the material progress of the hill population of the State, such as fruit growing, cattle farming or the introduction of new staples. He was also prepared to support Pettigrew's application to reside somewhere within reasonable distance of medical help preferably in the vicinity of Mao. But Mr. Cole assured that it would be useless to make representation to the Darbar for financial contribution toward the extension of missionary work in the State.

The American Baptist Mission Conference was held at Nowgong in February 1916. Rev. A. J. Tuttle, Secretary of the Assam Baptist Mission sent a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam illustrating the following points on behalf of the Mission Conference. That, while recognising the scope for missionary activity among the Tangkhul Nagas, yet on account of the smallness of the tribe and the isolation of Ukhrul, the Mission could not recommend to their Society the establishment of a large plant and the permanent location of as many as two missionaries at Ukhrul. Although they did not by any means expect to abandon the work for the Tangkhuls, they were convinced that consideration for the health of their missionaries in the Manipur State and the urgent appeals of the Kukis, made it incumbent upon them to seek a more favourable location from which to prosecute their Mission work for the hill tribes of Manipur.

That if the Government granted them permission, they could move their missionary headquarters from Ukhrul either at Imphal or at Kangpokpi. They had a preference for Imphal because from that location they could have comparatively easy access to the tribes on both the eastern and the western hills. But in either case they pledged that they would refrain from efforts looking to the conversion of the Hindu subjects of His Highness the Raja in the valley until that permission was granted to them.

Referring to the position taken by the Political Agent and the Vice-President of the Darbar it was clear that they were unable to grant the Mission another site in the hill tracts of the State unless the Society could undertake some form of activity looking to the material improvement of the people. But the Reference Committee could not urge their Home Board to increase the missionary staff to the extent necessary to inaugurate any extensive industrial work during the time for the following reasons:

1. The problem of industrial training was by no means solved; even the Government was unable to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

2. The Mission was trying to do something to solve the problem of industrial training at their plant at Jorhat, and before entering upon a new effort of a similar character they were willing to be so sure of their ground that there would be some reasonable hope of success.

3. There was difficulty in securing qualified men for industrial work.

The Mission was, however, quite prepared to recommend to their Board of Managers in America a proposal which would not fail to meet with the approval of the Political Agent and the Vice-President, especially of the Chief Commissioner, namely, an immediate addition to their missionary force, for work among the hill tribes of Manipur, of a fully qualified physician for medical work; and also another man especially qualified for educational work besides Pettigrew whose work along educational lines at Ukhrul had already received the hearty approval of the Government.

The Mission also promised to urge the new appointees

and Mr. Pettigrew to undertake on a modest scale, such efforts for the material betterment of the people as they might be found practicable in the line of introducing new crops, the improvement of stock and the training of the people in some simple trades. But if the Government offered objection to granting the Mission for a location at Imphal, they requested to accord them the privilege to establishing headquarters at Kangpokpi. Because from this point the missionaries could have easier access to the Tangkhuls on the east and to the Kukis on the west than from any other place north of Kangpokpi.

In view of the serious illness of Pettigrew in the isolation at Ukhrul and the difficulty of securing medical aid for him, the Mission Conference requested Pettigrew to live at Kohima for the time being, but he was advised to continue his work in Manipur from temporary headquarters in the vacant missionary bungalow at Kohima until the new medical missionary arrived for work in Manipur. It was the expectation of the Mission Conference to use the bungalow at Ukhrul as a camp headquarters.[2]

Exactly 19 years ago, the Political Agent of Manipur had requested the Chief Commissioner of Assam to have him appointed a Marriage Registrar under Section 8 of Act XV of 1872 (*Indian Christian Marriage Act*). But he was informed by the Chief Commissioner that the Act applied in Native States to British subjects only. During July 1898, the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur:

> The Act would not, therefore, apply to the Tangkhul Naga subjects of the Manipur State who may be converted by the Reverend Mr. Pettigrew, and as you say that there is no special urgency in the matter, the Chief Commissioner thinks that the appointment of a Marriage Registrar for Manipur is unnecessary at present.[3]

As a result of this correspondence, during January 1902, the Chief Commissioner had authorised Pettigrew to grant certificates of marriage between Native Christians in the Manipur State. This gave an authority to the license only so far as Christian subjects of His Majesty were concerned, but the appointment of a Marriage Registrar was dropped for some time. Again in November 1916, Mr. Cole informed the Honorable Mr. Abdul Majid who was a member of the

Governor of Assam in Council that Pettigrew was not a Minister of religion with Episcopal ordination. He therefore, requested Mr. Allen to have him gazetted out a Marriage Registrar since he could find no record of such previous appointment in Manipur. The order was accordingly issued on 28th November 1916, by A. W. Botham, Second Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam:

> No. 7436 G.--In exercise of the power described in Section 8 of the *Indian Christian Marriage Act* XV of 1872, which has been delegated to him by the Governor General in Council by Foreign Department Notification No. 2033 I. B., dated the 26th September 1912, the Chief Commissioner is pleased to appoint the Political Agent in Manipur to be a Marriage Registrar in the Manipur State.

In October 1916, there occurred a disastrous flood and practically the whole of Imphal was submerged. So by January next year the Political Agent of Manipur informed Mr. B. C. Allen that the floods prevented both Mr. Higgins and himself from visiting Tipaimukh that season. They however, sent for Dhala who was the local representative of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission to obtain a list of villages in which he had converts. Mr. Higgins and the Political Agent agreed on the 'provisional boundaries' to which the missionary activities of Dhala were to be confined. The Political Agent fixed the validity of the boundary for three years and he wished to see how things passed out. He did not intend to run the risk of reviving correspondence again with Watkin Roberts by addressing him. Dhala was informed of the boundaries verbally, which was to be followed up by a formal notice issued by Mr. Higgins to him. He seemed to be working quietly and without friction and in the end of his activities he was thought to contribute to the well-being of this portion of the State. When the Political Agent found time to visit the locality, he said, the boundaries would be fixed more accurately. The 'provisional boundaries' which was signed by both Mr. Higgins and the Political Agent of Manipur, was dated 12th January 1917, which ran as follows:

> From Jirighat up the Barak to Tipaimukh. Thence up to the Tipai River to the boundary line between the Manipur State and the Lushai Hills of Daido Hill. Thence along that boundary and up the Tuivai to where the Kailam Range drops to that river, thence along the crest of the Kailam Range to a point due east of Lailong and thence in a westerly direction to the junction of the Makru and Irang and thence up the

Makru to the Silchar Road and thence to Jirighat. He may also visit the following villages in which he was converts but is not to visit other villages outside this boundary for purpose of proselytising :- Maithe, Munpi, Somthong, Khepuibung, Molnum and Molum.[4]

The first two years of the Great War, i.e., 1914-15 and 1915-16, made little difference to the life of the State, except at the beginning of the War when the wildest rumours were current, soon however to be satisfactorily allayed. In 1916, His Highness the Raja of Manipur offered to raise a Double Company of men for service. This was accepted and they were sent under the command of Mr. F. B. Blackie, the Raja's Private Secretary, to be trained with the 3/39th Garhwalis at Lansdowne. Some 215 men of the Manipur Contingent were ordered to go on active service in Mesopotamia during 1917-18. This led to some considerable uneasiness and opposition which was however put under control by the Raja's personal exertions. He visited the Unit at Lansdowne in February 1917.[5]

In May of the year, Rev. F. W. Harding, Secretary, Executive Committee of the Assam Mission informed Mr. B. C. Allen who was then appointed Special Officer of the Assam Labour Corps, Shillong, that many native Christians from Churches under their Mission had joined these Corps, and they were in many cases among the first to volunteer. In view of this, Pettigrew who was a British subject and also Treasurer of the Mission and who had spent several years in Manipur, offered his services to Government to go with the Labour Corps to France. This action had the hearty approval of the Mission and although the missionary force in Assam, by reason of illness, furlough, death and lack of funds, was reduced far below its efficient working strength, Harding assured Mr. Allen on behalf of the Mission that, should the Government accept the services of Pettigrew, the Mission would deeply appreciate such as a mark of honour, and as an expression of confidence in their loyalty as faithful allies during the time.

The Chief Commissioner of Assam greatly appreciated the spirit which had induced the Mission to consent to Pettigrew offering his services to Government, and he hoped that it might be possible to accept the offer. But the Chief Secretary could not quite clearly grasp from Harding's letter

whether Pettigrew had a wish to go with the Manipur Corps or with the one that was being raised in the Garo Hills. From a communication in which Mr. Cole brought to the notice of the Chief Commissioner how useful Pettigrew with his knowledge of Manipuri and of medicine would be in looking after the well being of the sick and of the Corps generally, it was presumed that he wished to go with the Manipur Corps. By 22nd May 1917, the First Manipur Corps was already complete and they started its journey to France. When the Second Corps was being raised in Manipur the Chief Commissioner thought that it would be possible to give Pettigrew a suitable appointment in it.

Pettigrew's long pending request for a proposed tour in the western hills of Manipur was immediately granted in May 1917, on a special consideration of his services toward the formation of the Second Manipur Labour Corps. The Manipur State Darbar resolved that Pettigrew could extend his operations to the western hills, and he was also permitted to make his proposed tour in Lam No. V with a view to establishing schools and churches subject to the following conditions:

1. This permission does not carry with it permission to reside elsewhere in the State than at Ukhrul.

2. The permission granted is purely personal. It will convey no right to Mr. Pettigrew to associate any other missionary with him in the work or to appoint any substitute, and will give the American Baptist Mission or any other Mission that Mr. Pettigrew may be associated with no right to claim that portion of the hills as their 'Field', or to establish a Mission there, unless with the express permission of the State authorities.

3. Mr. Pettigrew makes no attempt to convert Manipuris.[6]

In June 1917, the Chief Secretary of Assam wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur that the Raja's offer of a Labour Corps of Manipuris could not be accepted. This information brought a little disappointment to the Raja, but he hoped that the Government would consider afterwards. The Political Agent also insisted the Chief Secretary to do best for him, in the event of more Corps being required later. Actually the Raja was not willing to recruit his subjects for Labour or Porter Corps for service in Mesopotamia, as he did not consider they would stand heavy work in such a climate. In this he adhered to the attitude he took up when asked

previously if he would recruit labourers for Mesopotamia. He had a wish to repeat his former offer of a Second Corps consisting of hill-men and a Third Corps of Manipuris for service in France.

The Assam Administration Camp was to furnish approximately 250 Nagas a month to keep up the Naga corps in France, and if they offered either one or two more Corps, they had to promise in addition to keep these Corps up with their supply of approximately 250 men a month each. The supply of such large drafts was very doubtful whether it would be advisable to repeat the offer either of both the Corps referred to. The Chief Secretary, therefore, requested the Political Agent to report to him after consulting with His Highness the Raja of Manipur who thought it would be practicable to supply 250 Nagas a month to keep up the Naga Corps in France; and in addition, to repeat the offer of the Raja for a full Corps of Manipuris under his command; and to supply the necessary draft of 250 men a month to keep that Corps also up to strength. But the Chief Commissioner considered that to go beyond this and to offer also a Second Naga Corps with an additional liability to send 250 men a month to keep it up to strength could not be possible.

The Political Agent did not anticipate any trouble at all over the raising of the Manipuri Labour Corps, and he considered that there would be no need for him to be present during the initial stages. According to him the recruitment could best be done by His Highness the Raja himself without any help or interference from him. But owing to the difficulty of recruiting labourers without giving a bonus all the recruitments for Mesopotamia were stopped during August 1917. The original organisation was soon charged and the Labour Corps for France were being formed in Companies of 500 each under the command of a British Officer of a rank of Captain, with a Lieutenant or Second Lieutenant as his Adjutant.

While the recruitment for both the Nagas and the Manipuri Labour Corps was steadily going on, Pettigrew tried his best to insist the State authorities on a reconsideration of the Darbar resolution No. 2 of 30th May 1917, in which he was formally given permission to make tour in Lam

No. V, with certain restrictions imposed on him. The Executive Committee of the American Baptist Mission in Assam also requested the Political Agent of Manipur to reconsider and make some certain modifications to allow Pettigrew a little freedom. The Darbar agreed to the representation of the Executive Committee, and by showing their respect and official courtesy towards various constructive services rendered by the missionary, they consented to modify the ResolutionNo. 2.

On 22nd August 1917, the Darbar resolved that they were strongly opposed to any missionary being allowed to settle at Imphal or Kangpokpi or at any place in the valley. But they were willing to forego their former resolution No. 2 as far as it concerned the deputation of other missionaries, and now they permitted the American Baptist Mission to send other missionaries to be associated with Pettigrew, to act for him during the period of his absence or to succeed him, on the condition that, if at any time, the Darbar considered any missionary to be objectionable, he would be removed by the Mission without any unncessary delay. As regards the proposed work in the western hills, the Darbar also agreed with His Highness the Raja that the field during the period opened to the Mission was sufficiently large and, therefore, they adhered to their former resolution of allowing the extension of operations only to Lam No. 5, beyond which and beyond their permitted field in the Tangkhul hills, the Mission could not work without the express permission of the Darbar. The missionaries were also instructed not to make attempt to convert any Hindu Manipuri.

Mr. J. C. Higgins, who was now the officiating Political Agent of Manipur sent a copy of the above resolution to the Chairman of the Executive Committee in Assam. He previously discussed the matter with His Highness the Raja who expressed his willingness to permit the Mission to send other missionaries and to allow even for the establishment of a Mission station at Kangpokpi. The Raja, on the other hand, was not willing to permit the extension of missionary activities southward of the Cachar bridle-path.

Although the Darbar agreed to the deputation of other missionaries in the State to work in Lam No. II and V, they

strongly opposed to the establishment of a Mission station at Kangpokpi. On receipt of the Darbar resolution Mr. Higgins enquired the President of the Darbar to ascertain whether the resolution had been confirmed by His Highness or not. In his reply, the President sent back the following telegram:

> Just received His Highness's orders cannot approve Darbar's Resolution until further discussion with yourself on your return.[7]

According to Mr. Higgins the hitch as to the question of residence would not deter the Mission from alloting a medical missionary to Manipur in 1917. His Highness the Raja also expressed his strong desire that the first missionary appointed to help Pettigrew should be a medical man and the Darbar should make its concessions to the Mission's wishes conditional on their sending a medical man before any others. Although the Darbar had no wish to support the view, the President was completely in accord with His Highness in this matter. One thing was certain that the Darbar resolution had no force pending His Highness the Raja's approval; and it appeared that he would veto the resolution and pass orders in accordance with his own wishes.

On 6th September 1917, His Highness Raja Churachand Singh returned the Darbar resolution for another reconsideration and he asked for their reasons of objections to the missionaries' residing at Kangpokpi. Personally the Raja saw no objection to the missionaries' settling at Kangpokpi as he considered it a great pity to lose the chance of getting a medical missionary to work in the hills. Accordingly, the Darbar held another meeting on 12th September, and they resolved the following after a reconsideration of the Raja's Note:

> Considered His Highness's Memo No. 451 P. dated 6th September 1917, for reconsideration, with reference to Darbar's Resolution No. 1 of 22nd August 1917, of the question of permission being granted to missionaries to reside at Kangpokpi, and for consideration of the Political Agent's suggestion that the first missionary sent to assist Mr. Pettigrew should be a Doctor.
>
> The Darbar, with the exception of the President, consider that if they are allowed to settle at Kangpokpi, their contact with the Manipuris will be almost the same as it would be if they were allowed to settle at Imphal. They are, therefore, unwilling to grant the concession.

> As regards the question of a Doctor, they are unwilling to make it a condition with the Mission, but they have no objection to any number of Doctors being sent by the Mission to work in Lam No. V or in the Tangkhul Hills.[8]

Raja Churachand Singh showed an intolerance toward members of the Darbar, and he thus, expressed that since the Darbar was against his considerate views, the matter would be discussed on the return of the Political Agent from Shillong. In the meantime Pettigrew was warned against converting Manipuris into Christians. But his contact with some cartmen and travellers could not be treated as an excuse for not allowing his residence at Kangpokpi, which was quite different from Imphal.

An important event occurred in the history of the Christian missionaries in Manipur. Since the first arrival of Pettigrew in Manipur during 1894, the Raja of Manipur, members of the Darbar, and the Political Agent all showed no favourable outlook towards the Christian workers. They had opposed and restricted the spread of Christianity and even sometimes they tried hard to drive away all traces of Christianity from the State. But for the first time His Highness Raja Churachand Singh, after consultation with the Political Agent now vetoed a resolution of the Darbar in favour of the Mission work in Manipur. On 22nd September 1917, Raja Churachand Singh sent a Note to all members of the Manipur State Darbar under the following manner:

> Darbar, Manipur State,
>
> I VETO Darbar Resolution No. 4 dated 12th instant. My reasons for doing so are based on the following grounds.
>
> 1. The hill tribes will lose the free services of a Missionary Doctor, which is beneficial and essential to the State.
>
> 2. Should the missionary permitted to reside at Kangpokpi convert the first Manipuri into a Christian, or make attempts to do so, against warnings given him, he will be removed immediately to Ukhrul, or if really necessary out of the State, hence his contact with the Manipuris should make no difference in the matter.[9]

The Political Agent of Manipur sent the Raja's Order to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society at Jorhat on 19th October 1917. He reported that the Raja had over-ruled the opposition of the Darbar to their Society starting a Mission at Kangpokpi and permitted their missionaries to reside there,

provided they did not convert or proselytize Hindu Manipuris, and they confined themselves to the western hills within the boundaries of the administrative area known in Manipur as the *Nongchup Lam* No. V.

The Political Agent impressed upon the Chairman the desirability of sending a medical man to take up the work at Kangpokpi without further delay. Because the Raja expected a medical missionary to come; and this expectation had influenced him very largely in deciding to grant the above permission. Of course, the Mission Society was not bound itself in any way; but in a conversation with the Political Agent, the Chairman certainly mentioned the probability of sending a medical man. Mr. Higgins had used this as an argument in persuading His Highness the Raja to take up the action, and therefore, it would be not only impolitic but in a measure ungrateful if the Mission Society did not immediately arrange to meet the expressed wishes of the Raja in this matter.

When the Political Agent returned from Shillong he found things looking very black as regards the recruitment of the Labour Corps. All the Kukis and the Maram tribe refused to send coolies. He heard that many of the Kuki Chiefs had assembled at a village some twenty miles west of Imphal to hold a Council, and therefore, a Lambu was immediately sent out to meet them. The Political Agent issued specific instructions to all the Chiefs to meet him three marches from Imphal on 9th October 1917. But it was extremely doubtful whether they would supply the men required. The Kukis were convinced that the men who were reported as having died of sickness were really killed fighting. But in the last part of September, Mr. Higgins received better news to the effect that some 400 men of various tribes including a few Kukis (not from the disaffected areas) would come in.

Recruitment for the Second Manipur Labour Corps was going on well and the Political Agent tried his best to fulfil the desire of the Government. But some hindrance came forward and posed as a major obstacle to the ongoing process. For instance, no Clerks could be enlisted in Manipur for the Draft then being recruited, because they were absolutely ignorant

of any language spoken by the coolies. It was also not practicable to enlist and Headman with knowledge of English. The young educated Manipuris firmly determined not to go to France even under compulsion. Moreover, the majority of this class were unfit for the position of Headman. In these circumstances the Political Agent impressed that all the Headmen should know at least Hindusthani and Manipuri; and that, all the Mates should know Manipuri and some hill language. But the difficulty of the position was obvious from the following grounds:

1. Practically none of the British Officers knew Manipuri. In the original Corps, Colonel Cole was the only with the least knowledge of the language.

2. None of the Mates knew Hindusthani. In the Manipur hills not one in a thousand of the population knew Hindusthani or Assamese.

3. From 25 to 40 per cent of the labourers knew no language but their own, being entirely ignorant of even Manipuri. And the Draft was being recruited from the tribes speaking more than ten entirely different languages, diversified by a number of dialects. It was because of these facts why Mr. Higgins laid stress on the necessity for Interpreters; moreover, private advice from France indicated that the want of Interpreters and Officers knowing the language and customs of the coolies was urgently needed.

In the midst of these confusions as to the appointment of some responsible British Officers for the Draft who knew at least the local language in addition to Hindusthani, there came a good news from Rev. Harding, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Mission at Tura. On 13th November 1917, he reported to the Political Agent of Manipur that the Executive Committee of the Mission would meet towards the end of January 1918, and by that time he hoped that the Mission would be able to make some definite arrangement to carry through their plan of sending a medical man to Manipur. Harding wrote:

> We shall do our best to send a man there early next year, or if that is impossible, then certainly we shall leave no stone unturned to locate a medical man in Manipur next autumn. The fact of the United States having become an Ally in this War, much as we rejoice in that fact, of

> course makes it more difficult to secure medical man for Mission work until the war is over as the call on man of the best calibre for war services is heavy and will be until the war is over.[10]

It seemed a little rejoicing to get such news of having a fully qualified medical Doctor in the State. Another happy incident occurred on 4th December 1917, when His Highness was made a C.B.E. (Commander of the Order of the British Empire) in recognition of his services in connection with the war, and he was promoted to the hereditary title of *Maharaja*.

As to the appointment of a British Officer to command the Second Manipur Labour Corps, Mr. Higgins finally succeeded in persuading Pettigrew to accept command of the Manipur Labour Draft. He was by far the best man who could be found. The only alternatives were Cosgrave, Jolly and Mr. Higgins himself. Cosgrave was, of course, out of the question, in the circumstances; and Jolly had neither the knowledge of the people nor of the language that Pettigrew had. The only stipulation Pettigrew made was that, he could not join before the 15th of January 1918, because he was leaving Imphal on 10th December 1917, and had to return to Gauhati to make arrangements for handing over the Treasury of his Mission. But he was still anxious that the Chief Commissioner should put in a word for him, if possible, so that he might be kept in France, if not as an Officer, in connection with the Y.M.C.A. branch attached to the Manipur Companies. Knowing that Pettigrew would be most useful in either capacity Mr. Higgins recorded in one of his Notes:

> Please tell the Raja that Mr. Pettigrew has agreed, conditionally, to take the Draft out, and that I have appointed Halge a Conductor in anticipation of sanction.[11]

When the Second Manipur Labour Corps was ready for departure, six Christian workers were appointed to act as Interpreters, viz., Porom Singh, Ruichumhao, Kanrei, Teba, Ngulhao and Leishisan. Of all the leaders, the last one, Leishisan gave his life at Aden.

A word on the Kuki Punitive Measures (K.P.M.) should be mentioned here, as because, after the outbreak of the Kuki Rebellion the areas affected under the political re-arrangement were very much concerned with the missionary activi-

ties in Manipur. It was observed that one of the general defects in the administration of Manipur was that the rules did not make adequate provision for the administration of the hills. It was impossible for a single officer to tour satisfactorily in the huge area under his control. Another defect was that, between the hill-men and the British Officers there intervened a most unsatisfactory intermediary in the shape of the petty Manipuri officers called Lambus. These men were responsible in no small measure for the rebellion. Thirdly, changes in the rules made during 1916, resulted in the President of the Darbar being very much tied to Imphal and so prevented him from making long tours in the hills. Lastly, the war and other local troubles made it more difficult than ever for the President to devote proper amount of time to the hill tribes.[12]

In spite of these genuine grievances there was another cause just behind the immediate one, i.e., the question of recruitment for the Second Manipur Labour Corps which turned discontent into open rebellion. Such was the condition in the beginning of 1917, when recruiting had commenced for labourers for employment in France. Most of the Chiefs were against the recruitment while the Lambus used it unscrupulously as an opportunity to make money for themselves. However, by May 1917, the First Manipur Labour Corps, No. 22 consisting of 2,000 Nagas and Kukis from the hills was completed and went away. A Second Corps was asked for in June 1917, but the idea was soon dropped and the War Office only asked for Drafts on the existing Corps. The Chiefs continued to be as obstructive as before, and when the Political Agent met them in September 1917, they flatly refused to have anything to do with it. In November, recruiting was suspended owing to the opposition. Next month, the Thado Kukis who responded poorly to the calls for the Labour Corps early in the year, broke into open rebellion and raided into the Manipur valley. The Kukis of the Somra Tract which was still unadministered, also joined the rebels.

Columns of the 3rd Assam Rifles stationed at Kohima in the Naga Hills, and of the 4th Assam Rifles stationed at Imphal since 1915, were immediately despatched against

the rebels. Between December 1917 and May next, three Columns aided by operations directed from Burma acted vigorously against the rebels with varying measures of success. Towards the end of May 1918, further operations in the hills became impossible owing to the climate and the state of the rivers and thus the rebels were left in peace until the following cold weather. Since they were far from being subdued, another Column was sent out from Imphal in July 1918, into the north-eastern hills. One of the most prominent Chiefs in these parts eventually made his surrender, and in September, two leading Chiefs in the north-western hills also came in. Negotiations were opened with all the leading Chiefs promising them their lives and a fair trial, if they surrendered with their guns, and assuring them of no further recruitment of labourers for France. But the greater number of Chiefs still refused to make friendly negotiations with the State Officers.

The Government of India showed considerable anxiety to avoid having to undertake operations - a natural attitude at this stage of the Great War and in view of the widespread commitments of the Indian Army. Accordingly in September 1918, lenient terms were offered to the rebel Chiefs, but the negotiations only resulted in the surrender of a few minor Chiefs. While the majority of the Somra Chiefs had surrendered before the resumption of operations, all thoughts of surrender in the western-hills were rendered impossible by the outbreak of hostilities between the rebel Kukis and a friendly Kabui tribe.

The Assam Government fully understood that it was now impossible to avoid military operations. The Government of India also agreed and the operations were thus entrusted to Brigadier-General Macquoid in immediate command with headquarters at Imphal under the direction of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Keary. By virtue of this heavy military operations the first of the leading rebel Chiefs were surrendered in December 1918. By the end of January next, two more surrendered while another was captured and yet another killed. In the first week of March 1919, all the leading Chiefs gave themselves up and they were quickly followed by the lesser Chiefs. The operations resulted in the

complete surrender of the rebels and by April 21st, 1919, political control was resumed by the civil authorities. When the rebellion was at an end, the future administration of the hills was the subject of anxious consideration, and the Government of India also conveyed their approval to the new rules where they laid special stress on the needs of the hills and their own desire to see the hills properly ruled.

The Government of India readily approved the appointment of three Sub-Divisional Officers with the necessary establishments who would reside in different parts of the hills and administer their charges subject to the control of the President of the Darbar and of the Political Agent. They also approved the other measures which the Political Agent of Manipur considered desirable for the proper administration of the hills, i.e., the opening up of roads and bridle-paths, the extension of education among the tribes and the bringing of medical relief within the reach of the hill-people. It was also laid down that the President or the Sub-Divisional Officer would try all cases (both civil and criminal) in which members of the hill tribes were concerned. Sentences of death or transportation or imprisonment exceeding seven years were to obtain the confirmation of the Governor of Assam. His Highness was to be consulted in all matters of importance concerning the hill tribes, but the Darbar was given no direct control to exercise over the hills.

The new proposals were proclaimed by the Chief Commissioner of Assam at an open Darbar at the Palace on 16th October 1919. For the better administration of the hills the area was divided into 4 Sub-Divisions: one which headquarters at Imphal and the three outside, viz., the south-west area inhabited by Kukis with headquarters at Churachandpur; the north-west area inhabited by Kukis, Kabui Nagas and Katcha Nagas with headquarters at Tamenglong; and the north-east area inhabited by Tangkhul Nagas and Kukis with headquarters at Ukhrul.

REFERENCE

1. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 6 of 12th January 1916.
2. Letter from A. J. Tuttle, Secretary, Assam Baptist Mission to Sir

Archadale Earle, Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Nowgong, Assam, 19th February 1916.

3. Letter No. 30 Regn. 2597. J., from F. J. Monahan, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Offg. Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 7th July 1898.
4. Enclosure to the D.O. Letter No. 15 from the Political Agent of Manipur to Mr. B. C. Allen, dated 12th January 1917.
5. Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam*, p. 94.
6. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 2 of 30th May 1917.
7. Cited in J. C. Higgins' letter to the Chairman of the Executive Committee, American Baptist Mission, dated Shillong, 31st August 1917.
8. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 4 of 12th September 1917.
9. Memo No. 507 - P, dated Imphal, 22nd September 1917, from His Highness the Raja of Manipur to the Manipur State Darbar.
10. Letter No. 1008 from Rev. F. W. Harding, Corresponding Secretary, American Baptist Mission, Tura, Garo Hills, Assam, to J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated Tura, 13th November 1917.
11. Letter from J. C. Higgins to W. A. Cosgrave, dated Imphal, 25th December 1917.
12. Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam*, p. 79.

TEN

Settlement at Kangpokpi

After the boundaries were fixed, Dhala requested the Political Agent of Manipur to move the headquarters of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission from Senvong to Imphal. Upto this time no missionaries were permitted to reside in the capital, and even the American Baptist Mission could not secure their footing in Imphal. Dhala offered some reasons of inconvenience which naturally motivated his idea of transfer from Senvong to the capital of Manipur. For instance, the nearest post and telegraph offices were 100 miles away from Senvong; the Tipai river was without a bridge and dak runners were in difficulty to cross the river; there was lack of rice supply to about 100 students and the headquarters at Senvong was in a hidden remote corner. The Political Agent of Manipur however refused to grant the request to Dhala, and he thus intimated to the local head evangelist during July 1918, without further explanations.

Under the recommendation of the Assam Reference Committee the wishes of the Maharaja of Manipur was finally put into reality when the Committee sent Dr. G. G. Crozier as a medical missionary to Manipur in 1918. Dr. Crozier first arrived in Tura in 1899, and he was the first medical missionary appointed by the American Baptist Missionary Union. But just contrary to his wishes he could not immediately start missionary work in Manipur as a formal permission from the Darbar was required. Therefore, in January 1919, he applied to the Political Agent asking if there would be any objection to Pettigrew's return to Manipur because he was not aware whether the State authorities would allow two missionaries to reside in the same place. This point was already clarified in Resolution No. 4 of 12th September 1917, where it was stated that the Darbar would not object to any number of Doctors being sent by the Mission to work

in Lam No. V, or in the Tangkhul Hills. It was on the strength of this Resolution that the Darbar had favourably welcomed Pettigrew's return to Manipur and to his living with Dr. Crozier.

During the interim period when Dr. Crozier was not formally allowed to start missionary activity in the absence of Pettigrew, the Mission station at Ukhrul was under the care of the local workers. But the native evangelists felt a great desire for Pettigrew's presence and thus they jointly made an appeal to the concerned Secretary of the American Baptist Mission at Assam requesting for the return of the missionary. Subsequently in March 1919, the Secretary forwarded the application to the Adjutant General of India through the Chief Commissioner of Assam asking to release from military service of Pettigrew who was by then serving in connection with the Labour Corps depot in Lucknow. The request of the Secretary was based on the following grounds:

The Mission had gladly released Pettigrew at a time when their force in Assam was depleted far below its normal working strength on account of illness, death, furloughs and lack of funds, with the idea that he would go to France with the Labour Force recruited on his own field of work in Manipur. The Mission thought that he would be absent from Mission work for one year for which the Second Manipur Labour Corps signed up for service; and somehow the Mission could provide for his work in the meantime.

But during March 1919, the Mission was most urgently in need of Pettigrew's services as the situation with respect to the strength of the Mission force in Assam was even more serious than it was when the Mission had consented to his volunteering his services with the Manipur Labour Corps. The Manipur State Darbar also recently gave their consent to Pettigrew's return to Manipur and a permission for his residing in Imphal. His presence, therefore, was of great importance to the Mission in connection with their own works, which were more or less affected by the military operations among the Kukis. There was also the possibility of his presence in Manipur being of some assistance to Government in restoring normal conditions among the Kuki

tribes because of his intimate knowledge of these people gained through many years of direct contact with them. Lastly, he was past military age, being over 50 years of age, by March 1919.

While forwarding the above application, on 9th April, the Chief Secretary of Assam wrote to the Adjutant-General of India at Simla:

> I am directed to forward a copy of a letter A.N.S. No. 124/19 dated the 21st March 1919, from the Secretary to the American Baptist Mission in Assam asking for the early release from military service of Captain the Reverend W. Pettigrew, Indian Army Reserve of Officers.
>
> 2. Captain Pettigrew's assistance is bound to be of much value in dealing with concentration camps and in bringing the Tangkhul Hills back to normal conditions. The Chief Commissioner, therefore, will be glad if Captain Pettigrew can be released from military service.[1]

At the Chingmeirong Concentration Camp there was a Leper Home established in the first place for the six lepers who were among the people that came to the Camp as refugees. In this connection Dr. Crozier wanted to know whether or not the State could establish the Leper Home in favour of the American Baptist Mission. The Darbar decided that the State was quite unable to embark on new expenditure amounting to not less than 2,000 rupees a year, excluding all initial expenses. But they permitted the American Baptist Mission to look after the lepers, and the patients to be retained under Dr. Crozier's care in the Leper Asylum at Chingmeirong as long as he remained in Imphal. The Darbar further resolved that it did not confer any right for the Mission to establish a permanent Leper Asylum in Imphal, as this would be contrary to Resolution No. 1 of 22nd August 1917. The State agreed to make a contribution towards the cost of maintaining the lepers from Manipur. After permission was offered to the Mission to look after the Leper Asylum, the State for the first time, sanctioned an amount of 600 rupees in May 1919.

Unfortunately, Dr. Crozier was not aware of the official formalities as to how seriously and after a great persuasion Pettigrew had obtained a license to marry native Christians and the British subjects. Thus, leaving aside most of the difficulties he directly applied to W. A. Cosgrave, the Political Agent of Manipur to grant him his wishes to obtain the same:

> On the first of June 1919, I am to take up my Mission work in the State. In connection with that it might happen that Christians who are subjects of British India may apply for marriage. Would you kindly secure for me license to solemnize the marriage of such within this State ? I understand that this does not apply to subjects of this State only, for whom the Church will need to act on its own custom pending any definite regulation issued by the authorities of the State.[2]

Before he recommended to the Assam Administration about Dr. Crozier's requests, the Political Agent thought it desirable that His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar were to grant permission to Dr. Crozier by name to settle in Manipur. Because Dr. Crozier's name was not actually mentioned in any of the Resolutions of the Darbar, or in the orders passed by His Highness the Maharaja. The Political Agent, therefore, thought that before any missionary who was a European or American was allowed to settle in and work in a Native State, specific sanction should be granted to him by name. It was on this ground that Dr. Crozier was asked to address His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar to secure permission for himself and Mrs. Crozier to settle at Kangpokpi in accordance with the orders contained in His Highness the Maharaja's Memo No. 507--P of 22nd September 1917. The Darbar again resolved on 4th June 1919, that Dr. Crozier was permitted to take up medical mission work in the State on the stipulations already laid down.

Dr. Crozier made another mistake when he approached the Political Agent of Manipur for settlement of some 400 acres of land at Keithenmanbi. He had no idea how the Darbar and the Maharaja of Manipur agreed to sanction the American Baptist Mission a piece of land at Kangpokpi. Although the Political Agent was in favour of Dr. Crozier's application, the Darbar firmly resolved that they did not wish to allow the Mission to settle at Keithenmanbi at any cost. They understood that permission was already given to settle at Kangpokpi because that was at the extreme end of the valley where there would not be much contact with Manipuris whom the missionaries were forbidden to convert. The Darbar also felt that a closer approach to Manipuri villages was objectionable, specially as the work of the Mission was to be confined to the hills only. In any case Dr. Crozier should not have approached the State authorities for such a large grant of land.

Conflicts between the converted Christians and the tribal animists were a regular phenomena in the hill areas of Manipur. When the missionary-in-charge of the area could not settle the dispute matters they were forwarded to the President of the Darbar through the Hill Office. In one case, during Mr. Gimson's stay at Ukhrul in the month of July 1919, he noticed there some hostility between the leaders of the Christian community and the village elders. The four Masters of the Ukhrul Mission School were witnesses to an English petition filed, in which the statements made were certainly not wholly true. Miksa, the Head Master, admitted his signature and he also admitted that the petition was inaccurate. The other two who were present denied the signatures, but there was little doubt that they were genuine. Actually this case was run by the leaders of the Christian community against the Manipuri Lambu, and partly against the village elders, on behalf of two puppets who admitted that they had no evidence for their case except some heresay which was provided by the Christians.[3]

Mr. Cosgrave very unexpectedly received a letter from Dhala, the local evangelist of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission during July 1919, requesting for a permission to establish the headquarters of the Mission at Thingangphai. This request was made for the second time, because the Political Agent had previously refused to grant permission for the change of headquarters from Senvong to Imphal. There was no reply to this second request, but anyhow permission was refused.

After the Darbar had rejected Dr. Crozier's application for a grant of 400 acres of land at Keithenmanbi, he indirectly threatened the State authorities that he would soon leave the field as his wishes were not considered favorably. The Political Agent carefully perused all the previous orders passed as regards members of the American Baptist Mission settling in Manipur. He also discussed the matter with His Highness the Maharaja who told Mr. Cosgrave that by the orders contained in his Memo No. 507 P of 22nd September 1917, over-ruling the Darbar Resolution No. 4 of 12th September, he meant that one medical missionary would be allowed to settle at Kangpokpi in addition to Pettigrew. Thus,

if for any reason, Dr. Crozier decided to leave Manipur, the Maharaja expressed that he had no objection. Another medical Doctor could be sent by the Mission in his place to live at Kangpokpi. Having failed to create an impression upon the State officials, Dr. and Mrs. Crozier moved to Kangpokpi on 7th November 1919, and began living in tents and huts.

By February next year, Mr. Cosgrave requested the President of the Darbar to arrange for the grant of a formal lease to Dr. Crozier in respect of the land at Kangpokpi. The President was to demarcate the land with permanent pillars to prevent any chance of misunderstanding in future, and the draft-lease was to send up to the Political Agent for approval before execution. Dr. Crozier was ready to show the Amins the boundaries of the land which he required. Because without a formal lease he did not like to incur expenditure on permanent buildings. Yet the lease could not be drafted and put into effect until April 1922.

Some important events in connection with the missionary activities in India, particularly in Assam and Manipur, occurred in the month of June 1920. The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department informed Sir William Duke, His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India, about the procedure which were in future to be followed by the Government of India in matters as to which the *Memoranda A, B, C.*, regarding the admission into India of aliens desiring to undertake missionary, educational, or other philanthropic work in India, were salient. The Secretary in the Home Department stated that Protestant Societies were in future to be divided into two main classes, viz., 'Recognised' and 'Not-Recognised'. *Memoranda A* contained the principles on which the former were dealt with. Foreign members of Recognised Societies were made into three groups:

1. Those who had been to India before;

2. Those who had worked in India before and wished to return and resume work; and,

3. Those who were working in India.

Those whom it was desired to send out to India for the first time, the position was clear. Their cases were scruti-

nised at the instance of the Societies to which they belonged, by the Conference concerned, and they were not allowed to proceed towards India unless furnished by the Conference with details. With such cases the Government of India had nothing to do and the responsibility for those allowed to work rested entirely with the Conference.

With respect to those who had worked in India before, it was laid down that the Conference was to communicate with the National Missionary Council which would arrange direct with the Government of India. On receipt of a reference from the Conference, the National Missionary Council was to furnish the name of anyone whose return they recommended simultaneously to the Government of India and the Local-Government concerned. It was also intended that members of Recognised Societies already working in India should furnish himself with a Document showing that he was guaranteed by the Conference which recommended his Society. The Government of India thought that a similar guarantee from the National Missionary Council could be sufficient, since the Council was to take the responsibility in cases where a foreign missionary had worked in the country before, and they proposed to issue instructions accordingly.

The Government of India had no comments to make on the subject of the permit procedure described in *Memorandum C*, except that they proposed to continue the system whereby Local-Governments might at their discretion grant permits to return to any place within their own jurisdictions to persons of unexceptionable behaviour who were returning to their countries for short periods of leave, and that the permits required by persons then working in India to continue their work were to be granted by the Local-Governments concerned.[4]

During May 1920, Mr. Gimson made a visit at Kangpokpi and he discussed several matters with Dr. Crozier who verbally agreed to recommend the State's offer for the purchase of the Ukhrul Mission Bungalow. Regarding educational matters, Mr. Gimson expressed the desire of the State Government that in spite of the shortage and poor quality of Manipuri educational books the State could get a reasonable Lower Primary education for the hills out of them,

if the books were reprinted which he was then arranging. He even wished to request Pettigrew to help in revising some of the books.

As to the question of rent for the new Mission settlement at Kangpokpi, Mr. Gimson suggested a 30 years lease with a nominal rental of Rs. 100 to which Dr. Crozier seemed satisfied. He also informed that the State would reduce the rent for the Ukhrul Mission compound from Rs. 50 to Rs. 25 if the proposal for the purchase of the bungalow was accepted by the Mission.[5]

By August 1920, the Ukhrul Mission School was financed entirely by the State grant-in-aid, and the President of the Darbar had a mind to take it over by the State. Previously the Mission used to contribute something to it, and when there was a resident missionary at Ukhrul to look after it, there was no need for the State to interfere. Now the School was in the hands of a Tangkhul Educational Committee, who disposed of Rs. 2,500 of State money annually. Reichumhao, the Head Master was an energetic and enthusiastic man, but the other Masters were useless and untrustworthy. Miksa, who was on the Committee devoted his time to the Schools in the Tangkhul villages. For the first time, Mr. Gimson learnt that, from the scholarships given out of the State grant-in-aid an amount of two Annas, per rupee was cut from the Christian schoolboys for donation to the Mission Funds.[6]

One Rev. Edwin Rowlands of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission unofficially came upto Imphal during September 1920, and he requested the Political Agent of Manipur for a permission to settle in the Khuga Valley. According to his statement, the Mission had 27 workers and estimated the number of converts at 2,000 in 30 villages with some converts living outside the area allotted to the Mission. Meanwhile, Watkin Roberts, who was Honorary Secretary by then, sent a letter from Calcutta to the Political Agent on 10th September, saying that Edwin Rowlands had the Mission's full authority to negotiate with their work in Manipur. Mr. Roberts also confessed that so far they were not able to do what they had expected for the people who belonged to the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. This was mainly because of the

fact that they had no European missionary amongst the converts. It was now the desire of the Mission to extend their work as large a scale as possible, and to open a Central School for the training of teachers and workers. The Mission also wanted to establish several dispensaries in the District. But a work of this nature could not be properly organised without having a responsible European missionary-in-charge. For this purpose Mr. Roberts requested the Political Agent to kindly allow Edwin Rowlands to reside in a convenient place in Manipur. Mr. Roberts also mentioned that their financial position was exceedingly encouraging for the last few years and the Mission was quite prepared to open a permanent medical work under the supervision of a qualified European Doctor and other stations among the converts if found necessary. But after making careful enquiries into the question, the Political Agent finally advised Edwin Rowlands that he was unable to allow for the missionary to settle in the Khuga Valley. Because the time was not appropriate for a tour in the hills which were still suffering from the aftermaths of the Kuki rebellion.[7]

Having failed to secure permission, Edwin Rowlands and Mr. Roberts made a direct approach to the Chief Commissioner of Assam and they put forward some alternative requests. They wanted either to open permanent Mission station near Churachandpur or a temporary Mission station in the Reserve Forest in Cachar, close to the Manipur boundary. As regards the first request, the Chief Commissioner told them plainly that tne matter had to be consulted with his Highness the Maharaja of Manipur. If the Maharaja had no objection to the establishment of a Mission station with a resident European missionary near Churachandpur, there would be no objection on the part of the Local-Government; but that the Chief Commissioner said he could not see his way to using his influence with the Maharaja in order to induce him to consent. The Chief Commissioner wanted to ascertain what exactly were the feelings of His Highness the Maharaja on the subject, because the proposed Mission station was apparently to be in-charge of Edwin Rowlands.[8]

After the rejection of Dr. Crozier's request to obtain a

license to marry native Christians and the British subjects, he made another appeal to the Political Agent of Manipur on 19th October 1920. According to him some British subjects living in the State were liable to request him to solemnize their marriage. It was on this ground that he pleaded to obtain a license both for the native Christians and European subjects too. Actually he had been already informed by the former Political Agent that the Act did not apply to citizens of the Manipur State; and that he was at liberty to solemnize marriages of Christian citizens of the State in accordance with the custom of the Church of which he was a missionary. Although he had been doing so he felt it would be better if he possessed the usual formal license under the two Sections covering Europeans and native Christians. Another reason for his insistence to obtain the licence was that, Mr. Aban who was acting as a Compounder at Kangpokpi, but who by that time, was at Kamjong outpost, wanted to get married during the last part of December 1920, and for it, Dr. Crozier wanted to know if he really acquired the legal authority. In reply to his request, Mr. A. R. Edwards, Second Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam issued a formal license on 28th December 1920:

> No. 11177 G.--Under the Provisions of Sections 6 and 86 of the *Indian Christian Marriage Act*, XV of 1872, as amended by Act XXXVIII of 1920, the Chief Commissioner is pleased to grant a license to the Reverend G. G. Crozier to solemnise marriages of Christian subjects of His Majority living in the Manipur State in accordance with the said Act. The Chief Commissioner further authorises the Reverend G. G. Crozier under Sections 9 and 86 of the said Act, as amended by Act XXXVIII of 1920, to grant certificates of marriages between Native Christian subjects of His Majority living in the Manipur State.

The Political Agent, in the meantime received a letter from the Chief Secretary of Assam informing on the subject of the post-war policy towards foreign religious and philanthropic enterprises in India. The Chief Secretary narrated some of the main points contained in the *Memorandum, A, B, C.* He wrote that, *Memorandum A* applied to recognised Protestant Missionary Societies in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. It was, during the time, in force only in the case of such societies in the United Kingdom; and the recognised Societies working in Assam were the Welsh Calvinistic Mission and the Baptist Mission-

ary Society. Foreign missionaries or employees of these Societies were required to furnish themselves with a document signed or countersigned by an official of the Conference of Missionary Societies in the United Kingdom. But in the case of such foreigners then working in India, a similar guarantee from the National Missionary Council of India was sufficient. *Memorandum B* applied to recognised Roman Catholic Missions, but it was not yet in force. *Memorandum C* applied to unrecognised Societies and individuals engaged in philanthropic, educational or medical work; and it was then force. Foreigners already engaged in these vocations were required to apply to the Local-Administration through the Deputy Commissioner for a permit to be allowed to continue their activities. And foreigners desirous of engaging in these vocations in future were required first to obtain a permit from the Local-Administration authorising them to do so.[9]

Subsequent to these precautions that were being taken with reference to missionaries working in India, Mr. L.O. Clarke, the Political Agent of Manipur requested Dr. Crozier to take out a permit from the Local-Administration to enable him to continue his missionary work in Manipur. Accordingly, on 18th November 1920, Dr. Crozier submitted his Undertaking in the matter of relation to the Government of Assam, and he applied for the required permit. The full statement of the Undertaking was read as follows:

> I, G. G. Crozier hereby undertake to pay all due obedience and respect to the Government of Assam and while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, I desire and purpose *ex-animo* to work in friendly co-operation with the said Government in all matters in which my influence may properly be exerted, and in particular I undertake, if engaged in educational work, that my influence shall be exerted to promote loyally to the Government of Assam in the minds of my pupils, and to try to make them good citizens of the British Empire.[10]

Five weeks after submission of the above Undertaking, the Chief Commissioner of Assam issued the necessary permission to Dr. Crozier to continue his missionary work.[11]

On 21st January 1921, Pettigrew also applied to the Chief Commissioner with his Undertaking, to permit him to continue his missionary work in Manipur. This was granted likewise by the Governor of Assam in Council on 19th

February 1921. After his contribution to war service, Pettigrew came back from furlough but he did not join the Croziers immediately at their new headquarters at Kangpokpi. He stayed at Ukhrul for some time to look after the management of the converts and other official correspondences which he desired to shift completely at the new Mission station at Kangpokpi. Ukhrul station was to remain the main branch of the headquarters.

Conditions in 1902 in Manipur were much different to what they were now in 1922, and it was one of the reasons why the marriage license previously issued to Pettigrew was confined to native Christians in the Manipur State only. He therefore, requested the Political Agent to approach the Assam Government for another permission to receive a license to cover all Christians of whatever race, who were found living not only in Manipur but in the whole of Assam Province. This request was readily granted without further restrictions by the Assam Government:

> No. 829 E. - Under the Provisions of Sections 6 and 86 of the *Indian Christian Marriage Act*, XV of 1872, as amended by Act XXXVIII of 1920, the Government of Assam are pleased to grant a license to the Reverend William Pettigrew (K) of the American Baptist Mission at Manipur to solemnise marriages of Christian subjects of His Majesty living in the territories under their administration. The Government of Assam further authorise the Reverend William Pettigrew (K), under Sections 9 and 86 of the said Act, as amended by Act XXXVIII of 1920, to grant certificates of marriages between Native Christian subjects of His Majesty living in the territories under their control.

Upto March 1921, His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar were strongly opposed to the opening of another Mission station in the hills of the State. This news was immediately despatched by the Chief Secretary of Assam to the Secretary of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission in Calcutta. Because, in view of the attitude adopted by His Highness and the Darbar, the Assam Government considered that they would not be justified in giving to the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission a site in the Reserve Forest on the borders of the Manipur State. However, much to the annoyance of the State authorities, the S.D.O. of the South West Hills of Manipur reported during June 1921, the Dhala had removed the headquarters of the Mission from Senvong to Tinsong owing to some friction with the son of the Senvong Chief.

On 24th February 1922, Watkin Roberts again wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur asking permission for Edwin Rowlands to settle in the allotted area for their Mission. While admitting that the Mission had now 30 workers and 2,800 converts, he requested for two alternatives, viz., the issue of permission for a missionary to reside in the Churachandpur Sub-Division; or to allow one of his missionaries to tour in that Sub-Division as their Lushai Superintendent Dhala had recently died there. But the Political Agent did not like to decide himself any missionary problems without consulting Pettigrew to whom he immediately wrote:

> Will you kindly let me know if I am right in understanding that it is your wish that before any missionary of Mr. Roberts's Society be allowed to enter Manipur the matter should first be considered by the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council of Missions?
>
> Secondly, whether you would object to the Reverend Edwin Rowlands of Mr. Watkin Roberts's Mission making a short tour among the Christians of Churachandpur Sub-Division on the ground of the exceptional circumstances created by the death of Dhala?[12]

As a matter of fact Manipur was considered and recognised as a Mission Territory of the American Baptist Mission for many years by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission working on the other side of its borders in the North Lushai and in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and by the Bishop of Assam, Dr. Packenham Walsh, in a special Committee called together in Gauhati some years ago before 1922, between the S.P.G. and the American Baptist Mission. It was also a fact that, Mr. Watkin Roberts, in the first place, opened up work in the South West area in 1910, without seeking recognition of his action by the American Baptist Mission or by the Provincial Council of Missions. He did precisely the same kind of thing within 1920-21 by opening up work at Lakhipur in the Cachar District, ten miles from the Manipur frontier without seeking recognition from the Welsh Presbyterian Mission which was recognised from the time they opened their Mission in Silchar in 1892, as having Mission territorial right of that District. As far as Pettigrew understood this matter was still in the hands of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council of Missions for settlement. He wished that before any worker of Mr. Roberts's Mission was allowed to enter Manipur to work and reside in the Churachandpur Sub-Division, the matter should first be considered by the

Executive Committee of the Provincial Council of Missions.

With regard to the second alternative of making a short tour among the Christians of Churachandpur, Pettigrew showed no personal objection to Edwin Rowlands if he confined his touring within the limits laid down by Colonel Cole. He made this stipulation because of some reports sent to him during January and February 1922, of two villages coming over to Christianity near Churachandpur and who actually asked him to visit them for baptism. The villages were Gelmol and Dampi, which were outside the limit set for the workers of Mr. Roberts. Pettigrew had already spoken about this to the President of the Darbar and also about three other villages in the South-East area where there were 170 among the Anal Nagas and Kukis awaiting his visit for the purpose of baptism and formation of a Church Community.

But before anything was decided, Pettigrew wanted to have a word from the Mission Secretary Rev. A. J. Tuttle at Gauhati, who was by reason of his Office a member of the Provincial Council of Missions and who had already corresponded with Mr. Roberts in connection with a previous suggestion that the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission was willing to occupy territory in the Naga Hills District among the Kukis.

According to Rev. Tuttle the Mission could not give its assent to Mr. Roberts's Mission locating a missionary in the Churachandpur Sub-Division. Because it was reported by their missionaries in Manipur that the work in that section was not only giving a great promise, but the entrance of another Society for active work would create confusion in the minds of the people. Secondly, the request for a short tour seemed to be connected with the location of Mr. Roberts's Mission at Lakhipur. As his location at Lakhipur was challenged by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, and as the case was at that time before the Provincial Council of Missions, Rev. Tuttle said, they were not prepared to consider the request until the case was settled.[13] His statement, that the work of the American Baptist Mission in the South West Hills showed great promise was of course, a gross exaggeration. Because the Mission had a few converts in one small village in that area. He also appeared to have entirely ignored the

fact that an area was already allotted to the other Mission in that part of the hills.

Exactly after two years, Mr. C. S. Mullan who was the new President of the Darbar sent a copy of the formal lease with regard to the land at Kangpokpi to the officiating Political Agent of Manipur on 20th April 1922. Although the lease was approved by the missionaries and also by the Political Agent, it was however necessary to obtain Government's sanction in such cases. By 10th May, the Under Secretary to the Government of Assam reported to the Political Agent that the Government had no objection to the grant of the proposed lease of three plots of land at Kangpokpi to the American Baptist Mission Society on the terms proposed therein.[14] The full extract of the lease was read as follows:

LEASE

Whereas Dr. G. G. Crozier now residing at Kangpokpi in the Manipur State, has applied, on behalf of the American Baptist Mission for settlement of three plots of land mentioned in this lease and whereas the Political Agent in Manipur has approved of the settlement.

I, President of the Manipur State Darbar hereby declare that I have on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur granted settlement to the American Baptist Mission Society of the three plots of land marked in the attached maps[15] as A, B, and C and situate at Kangpokpi. The conditions of settlement are as follows:

(1) This lease shall be current for a period of 25 (twenty five) years, that is to say, from the 1st April 1920, to the 31st March 1945.

(2) After the expiry of the five years revenue free period which has been granted an annual rent of Rs. 100 (Rupees one hundred) shall be paid every year for the use and occupancy of the lands.

(3) The Mission shall not have the right to sell or alienate the lands in any way nor to use the lands for any purposes other than those immediately connected with the Mission.

(4) If any of the above conditions are contravened the lease may be cancelled and the land resumed by the State.

(5) A renewal of the lease may be granted on the expiry

of the above period on such conditions as may be fixed by His Highness the Maharaja with the approval of the Government of Assam, provided that the said Mission is still in possession of the land and that the land is occupied solely for the purpose of the said American Baptist Mission.

(6) That in case of non-renewal of this lease either by the wish of the State or of the Government of Assam and provided that such non-renewal is due to no default or conduct of the Mission, due compensation shall be made to the Mission for the permanent improvement and buildings on the ground covered by this lease; valuation of the same to be determined by at least two representatives of the Mission together with two representatives of the State the valuation to be subject to the Political Agent's approval.

(7) That the American Baptist Mission shall be granted the free and unhindered right of way along the road made by the Mission from the Government road through plot B and entering plot A between survey stations 1 and 2 as shown on the map, and a foot-path along the north bank of Pabom stream between plots A and B, and also the privilege of keeping these in repair for the use of the Mission for the duration of this lease.

Description of Land

First plot measuring more or less 557 bighas, 1 katta, 4 lessas bounded on the north by the Survey Stations– C,B,A,H,G,8 E,D,C,B,A,Z,Y and X; on the east by the Survey Stations - X,7,6,5,4,3,2,1, and M; on the south by the Pabom stream from Survey Station M to Survey Station J and then on the west by the Survey Lines J.I. 16,15,14,13,12,11,10,9, E,D, and C. This is known as *PLOT A*

Second plot measuring more or less 5 bighas, 1 katta, 3 lessas bounded on the north by the Survey Lines--17,18; on the east by the Survey Line 18,Q,P; on the west by the Pabom stream from Survey Station P to N and then by the Survey Line N to 17. This is a triangular plot known as *PLOT B.*

Third plot measuring more or less 56 bighas, 1 katta, 14 lessas bounded on the north by the Survey Line A,S,R; on the

east by the Survey Line R,Q,P,I; on the south by the Survey Line I,H,G,; on the west by the Survey Line G,F,E,D,C,B,A. This is known as *PLOT C*.

REFERENCES

1. Letter No. 3765 P., Political Department, Political Branch, from J. E. Webster, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Adjutant-General in India, Simla, dated Shillong, 9th April 1919.
2. Letter from Rev. G. G. Crozier, B.Sc., M. D., to W. A. Cosgrave, Political Agent in Manipur, dated Imphal, 21st May 1919.
3. Tour Diary, C. Gimson, President, Manipur State Darbar, dated 19th July 1919.
4. Letter No. 34, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department to His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, 17th June 1920. A full text of the *Memoranda A,B,C* is reproduced in the Appendix.
5. Tour Diary, C. Gimson, President, M.S.D., dated 28th May 1920.
6. Tour Diary, C. Gimson, President, M.S.D., dated Ukhrul, 9th August 1920.
7. Letter No. 996-M. S., from the Political Agent of Manipur to Rev. Edwin Rowlands, Camp. Dak Bungalow, dated Imphal, 12th September 1920.
8. D.O. Letter No. 11034-P., from C. W. Botham, Chief Secretary to L.O. Clarke, Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 19th November 1920.
9. Letter No. 9744-48, Political Department, Political Branch, from C. W. Botham, C. S., to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 21st October 1920.
10. Letter from G. G. Crozier, Kangpokpi to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated 18th November 1920.
11. Letter from C. K. Rhodes, Under Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 24th December 1920.
12. D.O. Letter No. 1921-M.S., from L.O. Clarke, Political Agent of Manipur to Rev. William Pettigrew, A.B.F.M.S., dated 8th March 1922.
13. A.M.S., 255/22 Letter from Rev. A. J. Tuttle, Secretary, American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated 10th April 1922.
14. Government of Assam, the Governor in Council, Letter No. Pol. 995-2613, A. P., Apptt. & Pol. Department, Political Branch, from the Under Secretary to the Government of Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 10th May 1922.
15. The boundary maps of the Kangpokpi settlements granted to the American Baptist Mission have been found missing.

ELEVEN

Conflicts Between Roberts & Pettigrew

The form of Undertaking annexed to *Memorandum C* gave rise to some misunderstanding, because it was interpreted as showing that the Government of India intended to make missionaries their Political Agents. Actually the Government decided the matter with vital interest that no missionaries should be regarded as having any political aims. They always tried to prevent the growth of any idea that they were attempting to require the co-operation of missionaries in action directed against political aspirations which might be possessed by the Indians. In case of the American Baptist Mission in Manipur and their representation by Pettigrew, such attitude involving any political motivations could not be detected; but somehow, the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission and its main worker Mr. Watkin Roberts actually inclined to adopt political influence for the recognition of his Society either by the State authorities in Manipur or the Missionary Societies in Assam through some high-ranking officials from Britain. The Government of India, therefore decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to accept the amendments of the Form of Undertaking with the following formula:

> I hereby undertake to give all due obedience and respect to the lawfully constituted Government, and while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, it is my desire and purpose that my influence insofar as it may be properly exerted in such matters, should be exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government, and in particular, if engaged in educational work, I undertake to do all in my power to promote good-will and understanding between the people and the Government of the country, and to make those under my care law-abiding and good citizens.[1]

Although Pettigrew was released from the war service earlier in the year, the formal discharge certificate was issued only in July 1922. When he first accompanied the Second Manipur Labour Corps he was unofficially put into the rank

of a Captain, but after the release from the war services he was formally designated with the same rank. On 21st July, the Military Secretary of the Army Headquarters at Simla issued the certificate to Pettigrew:

> You will be gazetted out as relinquishing your commission in the Indian Army Reserve Officers from May 1st, 1922 with permission to retain the rank of Captain. You shall designate yourself in future as Captain the Rev. W. Pettigrew.

One of the first bad impressions created upon the American Baptist Mission in Manipur occurred in September 1922, in connection with the establishment of a Home Mission Society and the questions involved in making 'paid evangelist'. One Ngulhao told the President of the Darbar that he was getting paid by the American Baptist Mission, and as he spoke English there could be no mistake. But according to Pettigrew Ngulhao was not paid by the American Baptist Missionary Society but by the Home Mission Society which appeared to the President to be a mere subterfuge. It was known to the President that the Home Mission Society was organised for a distinctly illegal purpose, i.e., for sending evangelists to the areas closed to the missionary. It therefore appeared to be a contradiction in terms; because the President knew that if Pettigrew were not sent in Manipur there would be no Home Mission Society which in any case was not recognised by the State. This certainly involved the important point that a paid evangelist was doing work in an area in which the Mission had no authority to work, and a visit there from Pettigrew was a breach of faith.

When Ngulhao was given land in the Chakpi Valley he was personally instructed to cultivate wet rice which he did not. Nothing was said to prevent him or the villagers from preaching and it was presumed that if they behaved well nothing would be done to stop them. Mr. Gimson thought that if the workers went out as paid evangelists of the American Baptist Mission then they were breaking the conditions on which the Mission was working in the State. It was under these conditions that the Political Agent had refused to grant when Pettigrew requested for some coolies to be impressed during his tours on Mission work, and for some villagers to build bashes for him. Mr. Gimson plainly

told that he could not claim either of these concessions as a right within any British District.

The Home Mission Society of Manipur was organised in February 1920 at Kangpokpi, and during its inception Dr. Crozier was also present. This Society was organised about the time of the regular Mission Association and by largely the same people; but not in connection with the Mission Association nor as any part of its programme or work. It was much the same as several American Mission Societies that met during the same general time and largely of the same people but whose organisation, control, finance and policy were absolutely different, though for convenience, holding their annual meetings, at about the same time and place. Some of the Christian leaders of Manipur spoke to Dr. and Mrs. Crozier about the organisation of a Home Mission Society to help the Christians in parts of the State and to send teachers where the American Baptist Missionary Society was not allowed to conduct work. Dr. Crozier said, they as individual Christians were, according to private talks with the President of the Darbar and Mr. Cosgrave, the then Political Agent, quite at liberty to do so if they wished. But it could not be done as a part of the Manipur Mission Association nor any annual meeting of the regular Mission work; and that no Mission-money could be granted to them. To avoid the probability of misunderstanding, both Dr. and Mrs. Crozier were not present, nor they took any part in the proceedings and managements of the meetings. In fact, they did not even attend the meeting of the organisation or hear the records of the Secretary in that meeting. The record was not read at the time of the reading of the Minutes of the Mission Association, and money was not raised for the organisation during any of the sessions.

Dr. Crozier was told later about the formation of the Home Mission Society along with the names of the persons who were appointed officers. But when the question was raised as to who would hold the money of the newly formed organisation, Dr. Crozier flatly declined to accept any responsibility because he thought that the Mission itself could take it as a matter of accommodation. The native Christians understood that their organisation had no status whatever

except that of a purely independent and voluntary local organisation of the Christians of Manipur and that they were quite at liberty to do what they liked. Dr. Crozier strongly emphasised the point that they would not receive any foreign Mission-money whatsoever as an aid or as salary for such work.[2]

Mr. Gimson had no recollection of hearing the Home Mission Society before and so he told Dr. Crozier that the Darbar would be compelled to consider that a breach of faith had been committed if members of the American Baptist Mission actually went out of their area as teachers or evangelists by whomsoever they were paid. The case seemed to be still more complicated to Mr. Gimson if Ngulhao had personally gone under the aegis of the American Baptist Mission. Because everyone knew that Ngulhao was previously convicted for taking bribes from the Kukis whose ends he tried to serve. When the Kabuis offered him bribes he exposed them and got them punished, himself receiving a reward for the exposure. It was very doubtful if Dr. Crozier and Pettigrew were really convinced of the sincerity of his repentence or not.

During November 1922, the question of an establishment of a full-fledged Leper Asylum in Manipur was put forward. For the buildings of the Asylum the Civil Medical Officer wanted to utilize a site situated on the west of the Kohima road demarcated by a single mango tree growing at the edge of the *pucca* not far from the European Cemetry and running parallel with the Indian Christian Cemetry. In connection with this proposal Mr. C. F. Jeffery, the State Engineer enquired Major A. Dallas Smith, Commandant of the 4th Assam Rifles in Manipur:-

> I beg to enquire if you have any objection to this site which is in Cantonments, the approximate area of ground to be taken up would be 100 yards by 200 yards deep, the frontage of the Dispensary building being 200 feet back from the Road centre.
>
> Kindly advise me if you have any objection to this site being used. The buildings will be at first of a temporary nature only as it is not known if a Leper Asylum for Manipur is really necessary.[3]

Actually Major Dallas was personally not in favour of the proposal. He simply suggested that as the Asylum would be a State building it must not be situated in the Canton-

ments area. However, as there was every chance of the Cantonments being handed over to the State's charge in the near future, Major Dallas forwarded the correspondence to Mr. L. O. Clarke, the Political Agent. If the Asylums proved a success, it was prepared to move some three miles away and a whole-time-man was proposed to be kept in charge. A suitable site in every way as far as the Political Agent could see was a place about 300 yards east of the Dispensary's isolation ward. There were no habitations near and it was sufficiently cut off from the brick fields. There was a good tank that could be used for the lepers and dead bodies were sometimes burnt near there. The lepers of whom there were only 12 in number were not to be allowed to wander. This proposal was accepted by Major Dallas provided the lepers were not allowed to wander. Because the isolation ward was in constant use and he particularly did not want the lepers near it. Next year in January, Pettigrew wrote a letter to the Political Agent of Manipur:-

> With regard to the Leper work at Kangpokpi, and the departure of Dr. Crozier to America, I wish to state that he intends handing over such work to me, and with the help of the Compounder Aban who has been trained for this special work, I feel sure that this Department may go on as before under my supervision. I trust the State will continue the grant for Lepers. I hope to take over charge from Dr. Crozier as soon as we return from Ukhrul, which will be about the 15th February 1923.[4]

A few months ago an incident occurred when a small meeting-house at Zoute village was burnt down by the Chief of that village. This was done with the app al of Mr. Shaw, the Sub-Divisional Officer of the north west area. The Christians of Zoute were patiently waiting for something definite, as because the Chief was again willing to allow a meeting-place to be built in that village. In connection with this Pettigrew requested the Political Agent to frame some policy whereby the Christians in Kuki villages could build their own meeting places either outside the village proper, but close at hand; or in the village itself. Because there were over 50 converts in the Zoute village during the time and also a satisfactory village school supported by the State with a Christian.

Pettigrew came upto Imphal on 25th September 1923, and he had a personal interview with Mr. Crawford, the President of the Darbar. During the meeting Pettigrew

handed over to Mr. Crawford a petition from five leaders representing the Christian community of ten villages in the south east area. This community had grown up during 1916-17 and by the end of 1923, they numbered 334. Two Anal boys were taught at the Ukhrul Mission School and they were the first voluntary workers without any aid from the American Baptist Mission. Their intention was to start the movement among the Anal Nagas. Ngulhao, on receiving a gift of land from the State at Chakpi and during his stay at Tamenglong paid out of his own pockets sufficient money to keep an evangelist and teacher up to the time he was there as Head Clerk to the Sub-Divisional Officer. His unfortunate lapse and imprisonment stopped him from any further help. After his release in 1922, the question was put up to Mr. Mullan to allow Pettigrew to personally make a visit at Chakpi and in some way or other organise this community into some semblance of order and Church Government. But instead of referring the matter to the Darbar Mr. Mullan simply objected to Ngulhao and Pettigrew to do any evangelistic work in that area. Again in June 1923, Pettigrew made another request on behalf of the Manipur Baptist Association for an evangelist and a teacher for the Anal Nagas. When Mr. Crawford put the matter before the Darbar they resolved that permission for two evangelists in the south-east area could not be granted.

This resolution however left the door open for further consideration and Pettigrew himself admitted that asking for a reconsideration so soon might prejudice his case on behalf of these leaders. But when the situation became more acute and urgent the people asked for help to educate their young children and religious instructions from trained Christians. They also pleaded for the missionary to organise them into an intelligent community. The Darbar's rufusal to allow such reasonable and impressive demands on the score of religious animosity did not appeal to them. If they were Hindus converted to Christianity one would understand the opposition. But the hill-people and the non-Hindu with no desire or intention to act disloyal but to be trained in the faith which taught them to be loyal to all authority, it seemed to them and to Pettigrew as unfair and unjust.

What made them feel this way was that, Watkin Roberts' Mission workers who were never given permission to work outside the area laid down by Colonel Cole when they entered the south west area without asking permission to doing so, were for some time allowed to evangelise the Moirang and the south-east area. According to an information from the President of the Darbar the workers of the Robert's Mission had no business to be where they were. Pettigrew also felt so annoyed because one of their leaders residing at Lakhipur in the Cachar District, Dohlun Pastor by name actually came into Manipur via Imphal. He visited some villages east of Churachandpur and gave out information that the State had now given permission to Robert's Mission to work in that and the south-east area. He personally came to a Baptist Christian village near Moirang and convinced them that the American Baptist Mission was not authorised to have anything to do with any Christian in that area and they were persuaded to allow him to christen nine persons there in July 1923. Since his return to Lakhipur, the other leader of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission, one Taishen Pastor, who was stationed at Saikot in the south west area and who was also well known to Mr. Gasper, visited some of the villages among the Christians who put in the petition of 25th September 1923. He tried to make them agree to come over to the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission. but the Christians had refused to do so, as they desired to be under the American Baptist Mission. In view of this under handed way in which the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission was evading the orders of the State, Pettigrew thought that the first thing to do was to remind the Mission whose missionary during the time was D. T. Morgan at Lakhipur in the Cachar District, that his workers Dohlun and Taishen Pastors had no authority to visit or work outside the area already laid down by the State.

During September 1923, Pettigrew requested once more to the Political Agent of Manipur for a permission to visit the Anal Christians in the next cold weather and to allow him to arrange for their young children to be taught with a trained Christian worker for regular religious instructions. They were certainly not getting any facility and there was no one belonging to the American Baptist Mission. The majority

of them were new converts, and thus they required all the teaching the Mission could offer. Pettigrew wrote to the Political Agent:

> You can well understand how these men feel in the matter. What they cannot understand, and I feel the same way, that one Mission with only a native leader in the State is allowed to work in those areas, and of course it is understood they are doing it secretly, and allowed to go in and out among the Anal Nagas who demand their recognition with the American Baptist Mission; and that this A.B.M. trying openly and above board to give all the help they need, are not allowed to visit them, let alone give them an evangelist or a teacher.[5]

The Political Agent, accordingly, wrote a letter to Reverend D. T. Morgan of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission at Lakhipur on 1st October 1923, to enquire if the reports submitted by Pettigrew were correct. He was also reminded of a definite area in the south west sub-division of Manipur which had already been defined and where no evangelistic work could be undertaken. Mr. Clarke stated that this limitation was laid down for good reasons and the boundaries therein specified must on no account be overstepped. The agents of the Mission were warned that if they continued to proselytize beyond the limits laid down, the concessions granted to the Mission would have to be curtailed.

Some time before November 1923, Mr. Rowlands who was attached to the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission, had travelled up through the hills of Monbi in the Sadar area and he presided meetings of converts in these parts as a member of the Mission on his own initiative. In any case his action was liable to give rise to serious misunderstandings. Because it was customary for any European wishing to make tour in the hills of Manipur to enquire first from the Political Agent if there were any sort of objection. Mr. Rowlands did not to this and it was particularly unfortunate that he chose this area for his enterprise. Even the missionaries of the American Baptist Mission were not allowed in this place though some of the converts had settled there. The action of Mr. Rowlands and some of the evangelists in overstepping the boundaries already laid down, was therefore liable to raise a prejudice in the State not merely against their Mission, but against missionary enterprise in general.[6]

The Sub-Divisional Officers of the south-west hills and the north-west hills were instructed to see in future that the

evangelists of the Mission observed the boundaries very strictly. However, the S.D.O. of the south-west hills pointed out that the description and map of the boundaries of the alloteed area were inaccurate. According to his report the Mission had no converts in two villages outside the area which the Mission agents were allowed to visit, and a number in which were not on their list. It was in the light of his report that the Political Agent issued another order defining the allotted area with greater accuracy but slightly enlarging it, reviving at the same time the list of villages outside the area which the Mission agents were to be permitted to visit:

REVISED BOUNDARY

> From Jirighat up the Barak to Tipaimukh, thence up the Tipai River to the boundary line between the Manipur State and the Lushai Hills or Daido Hills, thence along that boundary and up the Tuivai to where the Kailam Range drops to that river, thence along the crest of the Kailam Range to a point due east of Lailong and thence in a westerly direction to the junction of the Irang and Barak, and thence up the Barak to its junction with the Makru, and thence up the Makru to the Silchar Road, and thence to Jirighat. The following villages in which there are converts may also be visited—but village outside this boundary other than the villages mentioned below may not be visitcd for the purpose of proselytising—Meitha, Munpi, Molnum, Khepuibung, Gelmol, Churachandpur, Saikot.
>
> It has been reported that Semthong village has removed to the Sadar area, and Mollumn has no Christian inhabitants, so these two villages have been removed from the list. In their places Gelmol, Saikot and Churachandpur have been added, as there are a considerable number of the North East India General Mission Christians in those places.
>
> Lailong village in inaccurately shown on the map as lying outside the Mission area. It really lies within it.[7]

Pettigrew's contribution towards the educational affairs in Manipur did not end with his resignation from the post of the Honorary Inspector of Schools in the valley. Because still about 1915, he showed great desire in a better upliftment of educational standard particularly for the hill schools. After his furlough, when he arrived at Ukhrul in 1915, he found that the Darbar had removed the study of Manipuri from the schools in the valley, and as a consequence of this, the hill school-work was hampered for want of important Manipuri text-books. This Darbar resolution was taken as far back as April 1914. But the Vice-President of the Darbar did not see it fit to inform either Pettigrew or Mr. Fox, until the former found it out himself. Apart from the hill

schools where Manipuri was taught as a second language, there was the larger question of policy. This question had been raised in the time of Colonel Maxwell and T. C. Hodson, and the matter was taken up with Mr. Booth who was then the D.P.I. of Assam. Bengali was being taught then and in the minds of all concerned it was thought the wisest to teach the vernacular of the country in the Primary Schools. Bengali was therefore dropped, and the preparing of text-books in the Manipuri anguage was put into Pettigrew's hands. For quite three years the time of the missionary was taken up in putting this work through the press. Pettigrew left on furlough in 1903, after the educational work in the valley was firmly established under the new administration, and his resignation as the Honorary Inspector of Schools for the State was only given in when he saw that the work he was given to do officially from the Political Agent was in such a state that it could go on without him. Thus ensured, he was able to give more time and labour to the work in the hills on his return in 1905.

During Pettigrew's last term of service in Manipur there were indications that the work he was pleased to do during the previous term was anything but appreciated. Although the Darbar was still willing to leave to Pettigrew the editing of all the text-books for the Primary Schools, because they had no one to do it for them without cost, more than one attempt was made to entirely obliterate the fact that the educational work was under his care and supervision for complete nine years, and that the books and their subjects studied were arranged and edited by Pettigrew. He doubted very much if there were going to be any benefit by resuming the old style of teaching. He thus took the opportunity of visiting a few of the Primary Schools when in Imphal in February 1915. and he was favourably impressed with what he saw and heard. It was a great surprise to Pettigrew that those in authority had allowed such a thing to be done, for he always understood that Government favoured and even ordered that the vernacular should be taught. Why such an important tribe as the Manipuri with so large a population would have been allowed to act in so radical a manner passed his comprehension. He was exceedingly glad to hear about

the Johnstone School, and if the State authorities had decided that he could extent his missionary activities into the valley, he even assured of his hearty support in the development of that Institution. Although it was due to him personally that Mr. Wince got the position he held in the Johnstone School, he himself had done all he could to obliterate everything that would tend to show that, Pettigrew had anything to do with the establishing of the School under proper tuition and the success it gained in numbers.

Apart from his missionary activities, editing of text-books for the Primary Schools in Manipur and a general supervision on the upliftment of educational standard in the State, Pettigrew's linguistic yearning showed its acumen as early as 1896, when he first translated a Manipuri version of the "Parable of the Prodigal Son", for inclusion in the *Linguistic Survey of India* compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson. An admirable series of monographs on the tribes of Assam were published during the early 1920s by the Government of Assam, and in the light of the series, Grierson first pointed out in the last part of December 1921, the significance of the Manipuri language. On page 188 of Mr. T. C. Hodson's work on *The Meitheis* there was given a version of the story of "Nummit Kappa" in archaic Meitei accompanied by a translation into modern Meitei. With the modern Manipuri language Grierson was fairly well acquainted with the researches made by both Hodson and Pettigrew, but so far as he was aware, no attempt had been made to give any account of the old language. This old language was one of the very few Tibeto-Burman languages which possessed and old Written literature. Besides folk-tales, such as the "Nummit Kappa" already alluded to, there were the Manipur State chronicles recorded in an alphabet traditionally said to have been introduced into the State about the year 1540 (A.D.). Even if we accept the later date (1700) as suggested by G. H. Damant, these chronicles preserved to us the Meitei language as used for literature at the very lowest computation some two hundred years ago.

None of the other Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and North Burma had any literary remains, and we know them only in their present forms. There seemed to be no

certain information, and we could only guess at the original form of the language which was their common ancestor. This was rendered the more difficult because these monosyllabic unwritten languages changed very rapidly, and one or two generations were sufficient to alter any one of them so much as to render the speakers of isolated sections of tribes unintelligible to the members of the parent tribe from which they sprung. This was very clearly illustrated by Mr. Hodson's edition of the "Nummit Kappa," the only piece of archaic Meitei which Grierson had seen. An examination of the text would at once show that there was not the slightest resemblance between the archaic Manipuri and its modern representative. The two might be related to each other, but so far as one could see from the specimens, the two forms of speech appeared to have as little connection as say, Assamese had to Angami Naga. Assuming the correctness of the opinion that the modern Manipuri was a descendant of the archaic language, a careful analysis of the latter was most important for philologoical purposes. Such an analysis made in a scholarly manner could throw the greatest light on the history of the development and mutual relationship of all the Tibeto-Burman languages. Grierson, therefore, suggested that the European scholars, particularly Pettigrew, residing in the Manipur State, with the help of some learned Manipuris who could make a study of the archaic language, might be asked to compile a Grammar and Vocabulary of the archaic Meitei by comparing it throughout with the modern form of speech, and tracing the changes which words in the intervening centuries had undergone. The value of such a study was well illustrated by the case of the language known as Sihia, once spoken in the Tangut country but dead for many centuries. Dr. Laufer of Chicago had studied an account of this language preserved by the contemporary Chinese writers, and he succeeded in compiling a short vocabulary of this ancient Tibeto-Burman language. Short and admittedly incomplete as this vocabulary was, it threw a flood of light on the history of the Lolo languages once spoken in north-western China and on the Burmese frontier.

Grierson found the old Meitei character very uncertain in its spelling, particularly letters such as - l and n, and r,

and so forth being mixed up *ad libitum* of the scribe. Although he wanted to study them, he said, he could not get much certain information about the grammar of the language, for he knew very little modern Manipuri.'It was in this context that he wanted to induce 'some local expert', such for instance as Pettigrew to compile from the copies a skeleton grammar and a short vocabulary of the real old language by comparing it with the modern form of speech. But the compilation of a skeleton grammar and a vocabulary from the old Meitei manuscripts was no 'easy job and it would take time. Again Pettigrew confessed that he was just as ignorant of that language as any other European in the State. He wondered how he could possibly undertake such a venture without the aid of a Manipuri who knew at least something of the vocabulary. Neither he professed to have the brain and the ability that characterised Sir Grierson when he undertook the *Linguistic Survey of India*. If the Political Agent of Manipur could see his way to provide such help after Pettigrew had examined the manuscript of *Langlol* with its transliteration and translation, and if he could say with certainty that the work could be done, Pettigrew was almost ready to extend his help in the manner.[8] The Political Agent, accordingly sent to Pettigrew the translation and transliteration of *Langlol* and *Awa Ngamba* for scrutiny. *Awa Ngamba* seemed more suitable for the purpose aimed at than *Langlol*, because Pettigrew pointed out that the latter work did not have good material for the compilation of a skeleton grammar. In his review of the *Awa Ngamba* transliteration Pettigrew was of the opinion that from the point of view of history the work was not what one might call thrilling, but it might help in the matter of producing material for a grammar. If a vocabulary was needed after the style of the *Linguistic Survey of India* it was absolutely necessary to be in touch with some men who could give Pettigrew the necessary information. He had a great suspicion in his mind that 'the person or persons' who wrote *Awa Ngamba* were up against some situations in which they found it easy to put in any old word, and what modern word they could not find to fit in with the original, they simply put it in the original word. Frankly there were many words and phrases supposed to be modern but were quite impossible for Pettigrew to accept it as such.

The Conference of the American Baptist Mission was fixed to be held on 5th December 1923, at Nowgong, and before Pettigrew attended it he wanted to see both Mr. L. O. Clarke and Crawford about several matters concerning the Christians in all areas of the State and the question of a preliminary investigation of the suggested grammar and vocabulary of the archaic Meitei. He proposed, therefore, to come in to Imphal from Kangpokpi on 12th November 1923, and to remain in the Dak Bungalow for a complete week. His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur also made some arrangements for the Pandits who transliterated some of the old manuscripts. One of the Pandits who was best acquainted with the old Meitei language was instructed by the Maharaja to come to the Dak Bungalow and have consultation with Pettigrew about the matter.[9]

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3. Letter No. 1072 W-19, from C. F. Jeffery, M.I.M.E., State Engineer, Manipur, to the Commandant, 4th Assam Rifles, Imphal, dated the 13th November 1922.
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6. Letter No. 1211-M. S., from the Political Agent in Manipur to Rev. D. T. Morgan, Lakhipur, Cachar District, dated 21st November 1923.
7. Memo No. 1327-M.S., from L. O. Clarke, P. A. in Manipur to Rev. D. T. Morgan, Lakhipur, dated 19th December 1923.
8. Letter from Rev. Wm. Pettigrew, Kangpokpi, to Mr. L. O. Clarke, dated 10th July 1923.
9. Memo No. 1135-M.S., dated 3rd November 1923, from Mr. L. O. Clarke to His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur.

TWELVE

North East India General Mission Vs. American Baptist Mission

After the departure of Dr. Crozier to America in February 1923, Pettigrew took up charge of the leper work at Kangpokpi with the help of the Compounder Aban. He frequently made correspondence with the Mission to Lepers at London by requesting them to extend some financial aid toward the upkeep of this small Department at Kangpokpi. His important aim was to establish a full-fledged Lepar Asylum in Manipur even at the cost of a combination of the Imphal and the Kangpokpi Leper Asylums. But during May 1924, the General Secretary of the Mission to Lepers wrote to Pettigrew mentioning about the unsuitability of the rough and ready buildings in which the work was to be carried on at the time. Because the Mission wanted the exact proposal in the way of a more permanent structures. The General Secretary even quoted a letter of May 4th 1922, from Mr. Anderson to Dr. Crozier:

> I received an interesting letter from Dr. Robbins in which he refers to the work you are doing for the lepers and rather foreshadows something on a larger scale than you have been attempting. Without holding out any promise of immediate financial help, I would be glad if you would let me have fuller particulars so that we may know just what you are planning to do in the care of lepers at your station. In any event, a certain amount of time is required for consideration of anything of this nature, but if I had specific details before me I would take it up with our American Office and see if they could do anything in the matter.[1]

The General Secretary, therefore, requested Pettigrew to supply all the informations as to the proposed expenditure of a Leper Asylum in Manipur and to see how much could be done to help along the lines mentioned above.

The name of the North East India General Mission first appeared in place of the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission in a letter of Rev., D. T. Morgan's dated 29th October 1923. In

their first publication of a magazine called *Kristian* there was a report on the formation of an Angal Presbytery of the Mission in the south east hills. On 24th May 1924, Pettigrew sent a letter to Mr. Crawford, the President of the Darbar through the Political Agent in which he annexed the above magazine. It was a publication of the North East India General Mission (late Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission) issued from Lakhipur of the Cachar District. On page 226 of the journal there was another report from Tawna, a Mhar Kuki of Thingangphai village in the south east area of Manipur. This report was translated into English by Pettigrew when he submitted it to the President of the Darbar. It was clearly mentioned that the newly formed Mission held a meeting in March, 1924. But there was nothing in the report to assure that the Mission and its agents had any intention of recognising the south east area as controlled by the American Baptist Mission. From various sources Pettigrew learnt that their agents along with an Anal Kuki Christian named Thambal and a Gangte Kuki Christian named Khuplet from the south west area were doing all they could to cause trouble and dissatisfaction among the Anal Kuki Christians of the American Baptist Mission.

Longkhubel, an evangelist of the American Baptist Mission and who had been working in the south east area since December 1923, reported to Pettigrew about the actions committed by Thambal and Khuplet in the village of Uchon where two young children aged about two years were christened with the aid of Bonga. This was performed in the very presence of Longkhubel. It was a plain fact that Chakpi was under the operations of the American Baptist Mission and no converts belonged to the Robert's Mission. But Pastor Bonga and Khuplet had unofficially visited another of their village, Thorjam despite many objections raised by the elders of that Christian village and they baptized a number of people there. Pettigrew therefore, requested Mr. Crawford to call in the following persons who were still working for the Robert's Mission in the south east area:

1. Thambal (Anal Kuki Christian; He was a disgruntled individual who came from Thorjam village. He took sides against the American Baptist Mission because he was not

appointed the evangelist for the Anals. He was the leader of the trouble. 2. Khuplet (Gangte Kuki); 3. Tawna (Mhar); 4. Bonga (Lushai Pastor); 5. Khaivung (Waiphei); 6. Lungsen (Mhar). These men were all paid workers of the Roberts' Mission and they caused dissension and division among the Christians of the American Baptist Mission. Pettigrew stated that until they were called in and asked to stop their under-handed dealings there would be no peace in that area. He even suggested their being removed from that area alto-gether as because there was no possibility of co-operation and help with Roberts' workers.

A private conversation took place on 3rd June 1924, between J. C. Higgins, the Political agent and Longkhubel Kuki, evangelist of the American Baptist Mission. On a special request Longkhubel narrated the following account on behalf of his Mission and its connections with the Anal Nagas. According to him the Mission had its connections with the Anal Nagas from 1918 onwards when some refugees in the Chingmeirong Concentration Camp became Chris-tians during the Kuki Punitive Measures. There were, upto June 1924, some 300 or 400 converts among the Anals which were distributed as follows:

Thoupokpi	-	about 30
Uchon	-	40
Khubung Khunow	-	50
Khubung Khulen	-	80
Phiran	-	20
Chandel	-	90

with a few odd converts in villages south of Palel.

About April 1924, the North East India General Mission started their envangelistic work in this area. The headquar-ters of the Mission in the south east sub-division was at Thingangphai, a Khawtlang (or Mhar) village under Khailen Chief. The workers of the Mission in this area based on Thingangphai were:

1. Bonga: A Lushai who had been about two months at Thingangphai, and was previously at Saikot in Haopi Ch-ingsang for about two years. This man was the Chief Worker.

2. Tona: A Man of Thingangphai, a Khawtlang, a native of the Lushai Hills.

3. Lungshen: A brother of Khailen Chief, a Khawtlang.

4. Khuplet: A Gangte of Khanpi Palal. He had been at Thingangphai for about two years. He stayed at Uchon for a while; but he said he did not intend to proselytise.

5. Khaivung: A Waiphei of Kailam Thangkhulen. He had been at Thingangphai for about two months, previous to which he was in Cachar.

6. Thambal: An Anal of Uchon (not Thorjam). He was originally a convert of the American Baptist Mission.

The chief worker in the State who lived at Tinsong, a hamlet of Khongyang, was Rohmingliana, the Lushai.

Within April and May 1924, the workers at Thingangphai were endeavouring to proselytise in Uchon and Thorjam, both of which were Anal villages. The first converts were baptised on 16th May 1924. In addition to the Haopi Chingsang which was outside their allotted *Lam*, the North East India General Mission had about 100 converts in the following villages:-

Khopuibung, Chinchuan, Khawtlang, Saikot, Khawt, Lushei, Dampi and Haokip. The Dampi Chief was a Christian but no big Chiefs of the south west sub-division were converted so far.[2]

In the last week of May 1924, Pettigrew had a private conversation with Major C. McIver, the Civil Surgeon of Manipur regarding the proposed consultation with the Darbar on the subject of leper work in Manipur. He showed the letter from the General Secretary of the Mission to Lepers to the Civil Surgeon presuming that it might be necessary when he put up the matter to the Darbar. According to Pettigrew the Mission to Lepers was ready to help in the erection of permanent buildings for the hill leper people who came to them whether Christian or non-Christian. If the Civil Surgeon could inspire the Darbar to sanction measures for the eradication of this disease in Manipur, the Mission to Lepers were ready to help in every way to meet the need. There were 20 lepers in the Kangpokpi Asylum by the month of June 1924, and if the Civil Surgeon could help in making out a plan for the leper compound of the buildings required, it would certainly help the Secretary of the Mission to present

the need more satisfactorily. So far Pettigrew had not replied to the Mission to Lepers since he had to obtain some official information from the Civil Surgeon first. When this matter was put up before the Darbar on 8th August 1924, there was no discussion as Mr. Crawford wanted sufficient data. The Civil Surgeon thought that it would be better to put up the matter through the Political Agent with all the particulars. Because if the Darbar really wanted to know more facts, the Civil Surgeon was ever ready to attend; but it did not happen like that.

In August of the year some six members of the Sub-Committee of the American Baptist Mission Christian Association of Manipur requested the Political Agent to allow the Manipur Christian Yearly Association to hold a proposed meeting in January next year at the new site granted for Christians in Imphal (Thangmeiband or Keisamthong?).[3] The six members were—Thisan, Evangelist (Chairman) of Ukhrul; Ngulhao of Kangpokpi; Longkhubel, Evangelist of Makokching; Maipak, Evangelist of Imphal; Helkhup, Evangelist of Makui and Luikai, Evangelist of Tolloi. Their application was forwarded by Pettigrew with an additional note which was important in itself. He reported that their Christian community was scattered in the north-east and north-west and the Sadar areas. The annual meetings held so far had brought together a large number and one of the results of such meetings was the building up of an intelligent community in matters concerning the faith they had embraced, a continued effort in teaching them the rules of a well ordered community in each of their villages, lectures delivered on sanitation and hygiene,and every opportunity taken to educate their young in the elementary things and lastly instructions in being loyal to the higher authorities. They so arranged the meetings to be held alternately in each area. For instance, in 1923, it was held at Makokching; in 1922 at Ukhrul and at Kangpokpi in 1921. Imphal was considered to be the most central spot for all the Christians to meet. Therefore, they requested the State authorities to allow the meeting to be held in the new Christian compound in January 1925. The Christians were already erecting the Chapel, and they were ready to complete it before the time of meeting. But a reply to their request was kept pending for 36

days after which the Darbar plainly issued their resolution No. 14 of 17th September 1924, saying that they could not accede to the request to allow a Christian Reunion in any vicinity of Imphal.

As already instructed by the Civil Surgeon, Pettigrew now made an approach to Mr. Higgins, the Political Agent on 20th August 1924. He was very anxious to erect permanent buildings for the lepers because the existing one was only of a temporary nature and in his estimation it did not help them to make a quick cure or alleviate their condition to any great extent. He wanted to know a definite assurance from the Darbar and His Highness the Maharaja whether the leper work under their charge would not be taken away. Actually in 1923, the American Baptist Mission had been intimated that there was some objection raised to having two Leper Asylums in the State, and the one of Kangpokpi would be transferred to the one in Imphal. According to Pettigrew, unless his Mission could get some definite assurance that the leper work would be recognised as a permanent establishment at Kangpokpi with the grant of Rs. 1,000 from the State for feeding the lepers, he thought it unwise to write to the Mission to Lepers for financial help in putting up a permanent site in Manipur. The Political Agent was thus requested to get hold of His Highness and talk the matter over with him, and if possible to procure a written promise from the Maharaja to enable the Mission to carry on the work and thus erect the necessary buildings.

Before a final settlement on the leper works in Manipur was put into reality, fresh conflicts were again started by the North East India General Mission. In August 1924, the workers of the Mission came in and admitted to the Political Agent that they were working in ten villages outside their allotted area on the east of the Manipur River and they claimed to have 71 converts in three of these villages including two in which the American Baptist Mission also claimed converts. They also admitted that they were permitted to work outside the allotted area by Rohmingliana and that they were paid by the Mission.

In May last, Pettigrew had already brought to the notice of the Political Agent that envangelists of the North East

India General Mission were working among the Anal villages in the Chakpi and Maha valleys, and they converted persons said to be members of the American Baptist Mission. As a result of this overstepping of the allotted boundary, the Political Agent issued an Order on 30th August 1924 stating that both the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission were trespassers in the Chakpi and Maha valley, as formal permission were not given to either Mission to work there. But the former Mission had a prior claim though it had no right, to recognition in that area. Preference, therefore, was to be given to it on the ground that it was a Mission which had been given permission by the State authorities to work elsewhere in the State; and because, the first Christian converts made in these parts were members of the American Baptist Mission, converted by the Indian evangelists. Permission for the two Missions to work side by side in this area was simply out of the question. Bad feeling had already existed between them and there were essential doctrinal differences in the teaching of the two sects which, among the uncivilised converts it might very easily lead to breaches of the peace.

The Political Agent now regretted that the village of Thingangphai in which majority of the members were of the North East India General Mission had been permitted some years ago by the President of the Darbar to settle east of the Manipur River. This village was the headquarter of the Mission's evangelists and it was the focus of the trouble. After consultation with the President, the Political Agent ordered the evangelists of the Mission in the Chakpi and Maha valley to reside in Thingangphai and to abstain from preaching the other villages east of the Manipur River. The Political Agent however refrained from expelling from the village for the time being, as the village contained converts of their Mission when it moved to its existing site, and it was desirable to consider about the spiritual welfare of the converts. The Political Agent strictly warned the evangelists that if they were found to have preached or made converts in other villages east of the Manipur River, they would be turned out of the village and sent back into the area allotted to their Mission. If this failed to put a stop to the activities of the North East India General Mission on the east of the

Manipur River, the village of Thinganghai had to return into the area allotted to the Mission; and the evangelists responsible were to be punished for deliberate disobedience of Orders which could not be condoned under the pretext of the spread of Christianity.

The American Baptist Mission also had no charter to evangelise : in this area. But there was no objection to their making provision through Indian Agency for any bona fide converts they might have in this part of the hills. They too were instructed to refrain from further efforts of proselytising until they received permission from His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar to establish a branch in the south east area of the State. This written Order of the Political Agent was communicated to Bonga, Tona, Khuplet and Khaivung--the four Kuki evangelists of the North East India General Mission.[4] Mr. Higgins also endorsed a copy of the Order to Pettigrew for information. He expressed that he had now defined the position of the American Baptist Mission in the area concerned. But Pettigrew, according to Mr. Higgins, was by no means justified in continuing to work in the Anal villages without the sanction of His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar.

Apart from the policy of creasing to make any provision whatever from the lepers, which of course was undesirable, and in view of the fact that the last Census of 1921 showed 154 admitted lepers in the State, and that leprosy was a highly contagious disease, two courses seemed to be open. The State might entrust its Leper Settlement entirely to the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi, after coming to an agreement with the Mission as to the amount of financial assistance the Darbar was prepared to accord to the Mission, i.e., for the capital outlay on buildings and for the recurring expenses in connection with the maintenance of the buildings and the treatment and support of the inmates. Presumably the Darbar was willing to guarantee the recurring grant which was likely to the permanent depending on the number of patients in the Settlement.

His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar were however unwilling to send the Manipuri lepers to Kangpokpi where they would be under the influence of the American

Baptist Mission. It was also not unlikely that the Manipur lepers themselves would refuse to stay there. In this case, the Political Agent suggested that the Darbar might be disposed to confine the Kangpokpi Settlement to hill-men by establishing a separate Settlement for Manipuris in the valley. The State could also guarantee to the American Baptist Mission so much of the initial and recurring expenses of the Kangpokpi Asylum as the Mission would be unable to provide and bear the whole cost of the Manipur valley Settlement. The Political Agent was not aware to what extent the Mission to Lepers made its financial assistance conditional upon the spread of Christianity among its beneficiaries, but its name made it possible that some such condition was understood.

In the absence of provision in the budget for the removal of the Leper Asylum from Imphal it was thought necessary for it to remain where it was for the financial year of 1923-1924. Imphal was not a suitable site for a Leper Settlement, which would be situated in some locality where the lepers could not easily come in contact with unaffected persons, and where they could carry on cultivation. The Political Agent therefore requested the Darbar to see their way as soon as the financial condition of the State was found permissible to make provision for the establishment of a Leper Settlement elsewhere in the Manipur valley if it were not decided to concentrate all lepers at Kangpokpi.[5] The first important step towards the opening of the Leper Asylum in Manipur with approval of the Darbar occurred during the last week of September 1924, when the Darbar was actually prepared to guarantee the financial aid of Rs. 1,000 to the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum as a permanent recurring grant. The Darbar also agreed with the suggestions of the Civil Surgeon to a removal of the Imphal Leper Asylum.[6]

One of the main objectives of Pettigrew was to obtain permission from the State authorities to open Mission work in the south-east area of Manipur. So on 19th September 1924, he once again made an approach to Mr. Higgins requesting that the south east area might now be considered open to the Indian agents of his Society for evangelistic and

educational works with permission to visit the area once or twice a year. The Kom-Kukis of Senbangya in the hills west of Moirang, but under the Sadar area control were entirely Christians from 1914 onwards and they always considered themselves as under the spiritual guidance of the American Baptist Mission. But since they did not receive any visit from the missionaries of the Society Pettigrew requested the Darbar to include this village as one to which he might pay periodical visits. The spiritual welfare of the converts demanded supervision of both the Indian agents as well of the missionary.

From enquiries Mr. Higgins learnt that the American Baptist Mission had a considerable number of converts which Pettigrew estimated at between 400 and 500 in the Anal villages of Chakpi and Maha valleys. These converts became Christians through the efforts of three agencies, viz., the two Anals who had been educated at the Ukhrul Mission School prior to the Kuki Rebellion; the Anals who were in the Concentration Camp at Imphal during the Kuki Rebellion and lastly, Ngulhao Kuki and the workers maintained by him at his own expense. These workers were all self-supported, receiving no financial assistance from the Mission and their work was entirely voluntary. They were in no way instigated or controlled by the Mission. But the converts not unnaturally wished to avail themselves of the ministry and control of the heads of the Mission and for settlement in their midst of Pastors who were more efficient than they were able to secure among themselves.

The policy of the Darbar with regard to the extension of work of the American Baptist Mission in Manipur had been clearly stated in different resolutions of 30th May 1917, of 22nd August 1917 and of 27th June 1923, in which the Darbar laid down that the Mission should confine its efforts to the Tangkhul Hills and the north western sub-division only. But after these resolutions were passed, circumstances had materially changed. For instance, in 1917, the Mission had no converts in the south east of Manipur, whereas by September 1924, there were approximately 500 Christians there. The policy of the Government was also very clear. To illustrate the points again—in 1915 and again in

1920, the Chief Commissioner of Assam had informed the Thado Kuki Pioneer Mission that the grant of permission to establish a station in the south-west of the State depended entirely upon the consent of His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar. But while he was not prepared to use his influence to induce His Highness, the Chief Commissioner fully recognised that some provision must be made for the requirements of the Christians who were actually living in the neighbourhood.

Though the Darbar's policy might be opposed to anything tending to accelerate the spread of Christianity in the State, the Political Agent did not wish to put obstacles in the way of existing Christians obtaining the services of the priests or ministers of their religion, since the Darbar had already recognised the religion and permitted its practice elsewhere in the State. Under these circumstances Mr. Higgins requested the Darbar to reconsider the question and to grant permission to the American Baptist Mission:

(1) to send trained Pastors and Evangelists to work in the south-eastern hills, or at least in the villages in the south east which had already contained Christians, and

(2) to depute Pettigrew or any other missionary resident in the State to make periodical visits to villages in the south east which contained Christians, and to Senbangyan, or to someneighbouringand convenient centre, such as Sugnu and Moirang.[7]

The following resolution was adopted by the Darbar as against the proposals submitted by Mr. Higgins:

> Darbar regret that they are quite unable to agree to the proposals outlined therein, nor do they wish the American Baptist Mission to do any work in the south east area. They regard any further extension of Christianity in the State as a serious menace to their own religion. The President dissented this resolution.[8]

When this resolution was put up to His Highness the Maharaja for final approval he referred it back to the Darbar for further discussion. Maharaja Chura Chand Singh wrote on 18th October 1924:-

> There are some hundreds of Christians among the Anal villages, and the State cannot but permit them to enjoy the ministrations of qualified priests of their religion. At the same time I am opposed to anything which may assist the spread of Christianity in this unauthorised

> quarter, and I suggest that, while allowing qualified Pastors to settle in the Anal villages which already contain Christians, the Darbar should make it a condition that these Pastors should not visit any village in their neighborhood which does not contain Christians nor convert any one from villages outside those in which they are permitted to work. I suggest that Mr. Pettigrew should be allowed to visit Senbangyan and a centre near the Anal villages once annually.[9]

This Memo from the Maharaja was reconsidered again by the Darbar on 22nd October, but they did not wish to alter their resolution. The President actually disregarded with the decision of the Maharaja who had to use the last weapon contained in Rule No.6 of the *Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur* which enabled him to veto any resolution and issue what orders he thought fit. This was the second time for His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur to veto the Darbar resolution in favour of the American Baptist Mission, the first being occurred on 22nd September 1917, when the Maharaja overruled the Darbar resolution No. 4, in connection with the deputation of a missionary Doctor in Manipur. The orders of Maharaja Chura Chand Singh vetoing the Darbar resolution No. 1 of 22nd October 1924, were as follows:

> I should not like to alter my suggestions as stated in my Memo No. 1203 P. dated the 18th instant, which should be acted upon, as an experiment for some time. In the event of their attitude being against my proposals by over extension of Christianity, we should not allow them to do their works in the hills as asked for.[10]

As regards the compilation of the skeleton grammar from the archaic Meitei Wahengbam Yumjao Singh was one of the Pandits approved by His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur to assist Pettigrew. Under instructions of the Political Agent Yumjao Singh made collections and deposited various manuscripts in the old Manipuri character in the State Office, viz., *Phauoibi Warol, Bidhinongdamba, Mayang Ngamba, Panthoibi Khonggun, Khumal Lol, Chirel Makok, Chronicles of the Pong, Ningthourol Talyeiba, Lamkhan, Khunthok Naurum, Sibika Chesat, Sibika Laisaba and Sangau* etc.

Yumjao Singh and Longjam Gopal Singh who was another Pandit to assist Pettigrew, submitted the English translations of *Sanamanik* and *Ahonglol* on 12th May 1924. The list of books for translation was completed with these,

since no complete copy of *Mayang Ngamba* was forthcoming as yet. After the translation of *Langlol* for which Rs. 10 (ten) was given as remuneration the two Pandits again translated the following books with transliteration in the Roman character·

1. *Awa Ngamba* (history of war with Burmese in which the Manipuris won ; 2. *Takhel Ngamba* (history of war with Tripura in which the Manipuris won); 3. *Sangau* (history of domestic cattle); 4. *Sanamanik* (history of a King of the name who reigned in pre-historic time); 5. *Ahonglol* (record about the origin of Sagei and Salais).

Mr. Higgins sent all the above five translations to Pettigrew in continuation of those already sent, to help him in the preparation of the grammar and vocabulary. By July of the year Pettigrew confessed that he had a number of manuscripts translated and transliterated on hand but he found it absolutely necessary to have one of the old Pandits to help out in this. According to his judgement, Yumjao Singh was the better man to assist him as he was well up in English. He therefore suggested that Yumjao Singh and the other Pandit should get together and prepare material for him to investigate and approve.

Actually the proposed work was previously started by Mr. Phillpotts the then Head Master of the Johnstone High School who retired in February 1923, and after his departure the work was continued by Pettigrew. In this connection His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur interested himself in the work and he permitted ancient manuscripts in the Palace to be transliterated. It is a matter of common knowledge how rapidly and how easily dead languages like the archaic Meitei disappeared, and it was probable that the Darbar might be interested in the preservation of the ancient written language of the State. According to Mr. Higgins, the preparation of a full vocabulary and grammar of the language would be of great interest and assistance to further students of modern Manipuri, and it would ensure the preservation of the old language.[11] He considered that it would be most unfortunate if the research had to be curtailed through want of funds. It was desirable both in the interest of science and for the sake of future generations of the Manipuris that every

effort could be made to preserve as far as possible the character, the meaning and the remaining literature of the archaic Meitei language.

When the matter was referred to His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar, Chura Chand Singh fixed the remuneration of Yamjao Singh and the Pandit at Rs. 300 for two years (which was Yumjao's estimate of the time that would take to complete the work), and the Darbar also agreed to find the funds.

REFERENCES

1. Letter from the General Secretary, the Mission to Lepers, 33, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2 to Rev. Wm. Pettigrew, Kangpokpi, cited, dated 7th May 1924.
2. See Note on Conversation with Longkhubel Kuki, Evangelist of the American Baptist Mission, recorded by J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated 3rd June, 1924.
3. Correspondence regarding grant of a Mission Compound in Imphal (Thangmeiband or Keisamthong) could not be traced.
4. Cf. to Order : passed by J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated 30th August 1924.
5. Letter from Rev. Wm. Pettigrew to Mr. J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated Kangpokpi, 3rd September 1924.
6. See Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 2 and 3 of 24th September 1924.
7. Letter No. 1182-G. A., from J. C. Higgins, P.A. in Manipur to the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated Imphal, 29th September 1924.
8. See Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 11 of 1st October 1924.
9. See His Highness's Memo No. 1203 P. I-I, dated 18th October 1924.
10. See His Highness the Maharaja's Memo No. 1239 P. I-I, dated 24th October 1924.
11. No. 824-G. A., dated 7th August 1924, from J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur to the President of the Manipur State Darbar.

THIRTEEN

Mission Work at Henema & Proposed Visit to Sadar Areas

The Manipur State Darbar was uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of Christianity in the State under any circumstances. Though sympathising with the Darbar in this matter, the Maharaja also recognised the necessity for according to the Christians the privilege of enjoying ministrations of qualified Pastors of their religion. He had, therefore overruled the Darbar to the extent of granting permission to the American Baptist Mission to send qualified Pastors to reside in the Anal villages, and also permission to Pettigrew to visit Senbangyan. However, the Maharaja made it clear that the least infraction of these conditions would cause him to revoke the permission granted to the Mission, and would lead to the expulsion of the Pastors from the south eastern hills.

The President of the Darbar selected Uchon as the centre near the Anal Christian villages which Pettigrew was permitted to visit. Now the Political Agent requested Pettigrew to forward for information of the President a list of the Anal villages in which the Mission had converts, showing the name of the converts and the names of the Pastors whom the missionary intended to depute to those villages.[1]

Mr. R. B. Longwell, Secretary of the Assam Mission wanted to clarify one of the points raised by the Political Agent in a personal letter addressed to Pettigrew on 8th November 1924. He quoted from the letter a paragraph which read as follows:

> If it has been decided that Crozier returns to Kangpokpi, who will be official head of the Mission there, with whom I and Crawford should correspond? The question will arise and should be settled. I presume that you will be head of the Mission there, but if your Mission thinks otherwise, I should like to say in the matter.[2]

In the light of the above quotation, Mr. Longwell explained that the Baptist organisation was such that they could not make one missionary an official head over other missionaries in the same station. He also endorsed a copy of the 'suggested plans' which the Reference Committee had to send to the New York office for approval regarding the division of work between Pettigrew and Dr. Crozier in Manipur. The extract of minute of the Assam Reference Committee recommending the division of work was as follows.

The Reference Committee defined the work allotted to Dr. Crozier as comprising the north–west area with headquarters at Kangpokpi; and the work allotted to Pettigrew as comprising the north east area with headquarters at Kangpokpi. Inasmuch as there were Christian villages in the Sadar area who required the ministration of a missionary, the Reference Committee recommended that such activity would be allotted to Pettigrew in terms of permission granted to him by His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur--whereby the missionary was allowed to visit Senbangyan and Uchon near the Anal Christian villages once annually. Yet while the Reference Committee greatly appreciated the Maharaja of Manipur in granting permission to the Christian villages in the south-east area to enjoy the ministrations of qualified pastors, they could not approve of Mission employed workers being located in this area. Because they preferred to limit the ministrations to these people to such work as could be conducted on the Kangpokpi Mission Compound, viz., medical treatment, the production and supply of literature and educational facilities.

In matters of correspondences with the Government and State officials, the Reference Committee advised that the missionaries in the State exercised the greatest care in voicing complaints from the Christian communities. When correspondences were necessary on questions pertaining to the Mission, each of the missionary was to conduct the same on subjects arising from conditions on his own field, or arising within the sphere of his own work. But on matters of a general character which did not pertain to the allotted

areas, nor to the work assigned to either missionary, the Reference Committee was to conduct all necessary correspondences with Pettigrew.[3]

One of the reasons why Mr. Higgins wrote a personal letter to Pettigrew on 8th November 1924, was based on the reports that Dr. Crozier was likely to be placed in sole charge of the Mission work in Manipur and the probable transfer of Pettigrew elsewhere. In consideration of the fact that permission to open a branch of the Mission at Kangpokpi and to extend Mission work to the north-western area of the Manipur hills was originally granted by His Highness the Maharaja to Pettigrew; again in recognition of his services to the State, and further that his long experience of Manipur, its peoples, languages and problems endowed him with special qualifications for working therein, Mr. Higgins felt that to transfer him elsewhere would be not only a grave error from the point of view of the Mission work, but also a real loss to the State.[4] He therefore, gave Pettigrew to understand that he would be glad of an opportunity of expressing his views to the Reference Committee, if it contemplated such a course.

The distribution of work in the State suggested in the Minute of the Reference Committee appeared eminently suitable to the Political Agent, and he gathered that correspondence on general matters, such as the Mission Compound or the Imphal Cemetry would be conducted with Pettigrew. The Leper Settlement at Kangpokpi was naturally within the sphere of Dr. Crozier. The Reference Committee, in its Minute, merely made recommendations regarding the distribution of work, because the final orders were to be issued by the Central Governing Body in America. Mr. Higgins strongly warned that the Mission should not desire to avail itself of the permission granted, except insofar as it referred to the annual visits of Pettigrew to Uchon and Senbangyan.

The Board of Managers of the American Baptist Mission Society at New York held their meetings on the 27th and 28th of January 1925, in response to the recommendations of the Assam Reference Committee. A copy of the action approved by the Board was recorded as follows:

VOTED: That the above recommendations of the Assam Reference Committee, with the *exception* of the provision for separate schools and churches mentioned in Plan No. 1, be approved.

That we believe it would be unwise to establish separate schools and churches on the Mission Compound, but recognise it may be necessary to have separate hostels for the two areas. That since there is no hostel at present on the Crozier side of the Compound we suggest that pupils from the North West area live temporarily in the existing hostels, but that Dr. Crozier be given charge of boys from the North West area during working hours.

That, upon the recommendation of the Assam Reference Committee and the presentation of satisfactory medical certificates, the return to the field of Dr. and Mrs. Crozier in accordance with the above plan be authorized.[5]

The above letter from the Board of Managers at New York was sent by R. B. Longwell to the Political Agent of Manipur only in the last week of April 1925. The word *exception* noted in the first paragraph of the action had to do, not with the division of the work between Dr. Crozier and Pettigrew in Manipur, but with the method of carrying on the Mission's educational work at the Kangpokpi Mission Compound.

Mr. Longwell now clarified to the Political Agent that it was not likely for Pettigrew to be transferred to any other place. Such a transfer was of course, discussed in the Committee but that was simply an effort to look at all sides of the question they had before them. The Committee also had the feeling that it would not only be an error but would be unjust to ask Pettigrew to go elsewhere and put the entire Kangpokpi work in the hands of any one who had so much less time in the State.

It was the feeling of the Reference Committee in making the recommendations that Pettigrew would have his hands very full if he paid attention to consolidating the work he had already undertaken. Furthermore, if he had to place Pastors in the Anal Christian villages and visit them only once a year, the Committee naturally felt afraid that these Pastors might overreach their proper bound and do evangelistic work although they had no authority to do so in the adjacent villages. Because all the hill people were likely to be enthusiastic over any new departure in their lives, and without rather close supervision the Pastors would be tempted to do evangelistic work outside of their own villages.

For that reason the Committee decided that Pettigrew had better arrange to meet the spiritual needs of these Anal Christians for the time being without placing Pastors in their villages.[6]

During April 1925, Mr. Higgins learnt that the Indian Council, British Empire Leprosy Relief Association were endeavouring to compile an authoritative statement showing full particulars of Institutions dealing with leprosy in India. He was thus requested to submit what accommodation was available at the Imphal and Kangpokpi Asylums and what expenditure was incurred annually in maintaining them. The State officials in Manipur were also instructed to perform the Leprosy Relief Campaign. In the same month the Political Agent received news from Pettigrew that the Mission had practically an offer to erect permanent buildings for the hill lepers at Kangpokpi. The Secretary of the Mission to Lepers also wrote back to Pettigrew stating their willingness to help in this if the missionary could make out a definite proposition and plans for the erection of these buildings. The existing buildings at Kangpokpi were of a kacha condition, unsuitable for leper infected patients and insanitary too. Pettigrew now requested the Maharaja and the Darbar to give a speedy reply, so that it would enable him to write back something definite to the Secretary of the Mission to Lepers.

Under instructions from the Indian Council, British Empire Leprosy Relief Association Mr. Higgins requested the Civil Surgeon of Manipur to submit the required informations. According to McIver's report there was accommodation for 16 patients at the Imphal Leper Asylum and the annual expenditure was Rs. 1,600. At Kangpokpi there was accommodation for 20 lepers and the expenditure was about Rs. 2,000 per annum.[7] This report was submitted to the Second Secretary (Mr. G. T. Lloyd) of the Government of Assam in the first week of May 1925, with an additional note saying that the Mission to Lepers had now agreed to erect permanent buildings at the Kangpokpi Asylum. The Imphal Asylum was to be moved as soon as a suitable site was found.

Dr. and Mrs. Crozier were expected at Calcutta on 14th

May 1925. They were requested to meet Pettigrew at Gauhati on 27th, where he had mid-year Reference Committee meeting. The plans for the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi were to be submitted by Dr. Crozier who would take charge of the Asylum, so Pettigrew had a mind to put the whole correspondence into the hands of Dr. Crozier on his arrival. He even wanted to leave him to discuss with the Civil Surgeon and the Political Agent just what the plans would be.

During the last week of April 1925, Mr. Edwin Rowlands of the North East India General Mission had applied to the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills for permission to establish a Mission station at Henema. When the Political Agent of Manipur heard about this he narrated the whole history of the Mission to the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. J. P. Mills) in order to prepare for a defensive plan against the request. It was a fact that, in spite of definite orders to the contrary from the Political Agent and from Government, various Europeans connected with the Mission had persisted in endeavouring to force their way into the State, and on certain occasion they succeeded in doing so. Mr. Higgins wrote that Edwin Rowlands was an offender in this respect in 1923, travelling through the State from the Chin-Hills border, through territory in which the Mission had no permission to work.

The Lushai and the Kuki teachers of this Mission had been allotted an area within which they were permitted to work. They were explicitly directed not to work outside this area, more especially in the north-west sub-division of the Manipur hills where the American Baptist Mission was permitted to work. But in defiance of these very definite orders the Lushai and the Kuki teachers made a number of attempts to carry on their work even in the forbidden areas. Mr. Higgins wrote to J. P. Mills:

> I trust you will understand that I do not presume to interfere with your discretion to permit this Mission to work in your District. I have merely put forward the above facts with a view to bring to your notice that the Heads of the Mission, both European and Indian are entirely lacking in any respect for authority whatever. In the event however, of your permitting the Mission to work in your District, I wish to record a protest against its Head Quarters being located and against its emissaries being permitted to work at Henema or anywhere near the

> Manipur border, as I am convinced that they will fail to observe existing orders forbidding them to enter the Manipur Hills.[8]

Incidentally, the limited experience of the Deputy Commissioner with the North East India General Mission led him to form an opinion of its emissaries just identical with the Political Agent of Manipur. The situation with regard to Henema was as follows.

Some teachers of the Mission wished to settle at Henema but they were told by the Deputy Commissioner that they could not do so without a proper application, upon receipt of which the question of settlement would be gone into. No hopes were held out by Mr. J. P. Mills that their application would be granted. But without any formal orders they forcibly squatted at Henema, and on hearing this, Mr. Mills had turned them out without delay. Two of them came and showed the Deputy Commissioner a letter from Mr. J. H. Hutton which led them to expect that they were allowed to settle at Henema. In view of this letter, the Deputy Commissioner felt he could not, as he would have liked to have done, issue a permanent and definite order forbidding them to enter the District, so he said that they must see Mr. Hutton on his return. Personally the Deputy Commissioner thought that it was far better without any of the Mission worker in the District.

When Mr. Hutton took charge of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills during the middle of May 1925, he immediately informed H. K. Dohnuna at Lakhipur that the report of some Mission workers settling there with the permission and approval of Henema villagers was quite false. After receiving reports from the Political Agent of Manipur in detail Mr. Hutton confirmed the order of his predecessor in this matter. He wrote to Dohnuna:

> I must request you to abstain from Mission work in this District, and warn you that individuals who have once been turned out of this District by the Deputy Commissioner will be very severely dealt with if they are found disobeying the orders passed.[9]

Already in November 1924, Mr. Higgins had requested Pettigrew for submission of a list of the Anal villages in which the American Baptist Mission had converts. After six months Pettigrew submitted the same to the President of the Darbar through the Political Agent. The Anal villages in the south

east section of the Sadar area showing the number of converts and the names of the Pastors whom Pettigrew intended to depute to these villages were as follows:

1.	Toupokpi	90	Church members
2.	Khobung Khunou	68	Church members
3.	Khobung Khulen	92	Church members
4.	Phiran	25	Church members
5.	Anal Khunjao	1	Church member
6.	Lambung	10	Church members
7.	Modi	15	Church members
8.	Chandel	99	Church members
9.	Aimol	12	Church members
10.	Liva	5	Church members
11.	Khongkang	2	Church members
12.	Kwatha	3	Church members
13.	Sibong	5	Church members
14.	Moyon Khulen	9	Church members
15.	Moyon Mittong	6	Church members
16.	Khongyon	3	Church members
17.	Lamfu Charu	4	Church members
18.	Monsang	4	Church members
19.	Senbangyan	90	Church members (Kom) west of Moirang.

The American Baptist Mission had no qualified Pastors in any of the above villages. That was one of the conditions the Mission was striving after, but it was likely to take a long time before it could be accomplished. What the Mission had were some qualified men who were appointed leaders among the Christians in the different areas. These men were set apart or licensed by the Association of Churches inconnection with their Society in Manipur. They administered the sacraments of baptism and communion, conducted the marriage and the burial services when Pettigrew was not present.

Longkhubel was appointed for the Sadar area, and he was known as the Superintending Pastor. When the President of the Darbar gave permission for the four or five villages adjacent and including Toupokpi, to establish themselves at a new centre, Longkhubel moved there with his family and settled down making the new village his headquarters.

Among the villages mentioned above these were only five organised Churches, viz., at Toupokpi, Khobung Khunou, Khobung Khulen, Chandel and Senbangyan. The

Christians in the remaining villages depended upon the visits of the Superintending Pastor for their spiritual needs. By May 1925, the Mission had only three School teachers in this area: one at Toupokpi, one at Khobung Khulen and one at Senbangyan. They hoped to arrange for one at the new village and another at Khoubung Khunou. The Christians helped considerably in the support of these teachers and for their Superintending Pastor.

Pettigrew now wanted to draw attention of the Political Agent regarding the Christian villages situated in the Sadar area, north of Imphal. If the necessary permission was to be given at all, he hoped to secure sanction of the Darbar to allow the Society to have the same privileges as was accorded to them in the south east section of the Sadar area. Including Imphal, there were eight villages wholly or partly Christian in the northern section of the Sadar area. The names and number of church members were as follows:

1.	Imphal Christian Compound, Thangmeiban	28	Church Members
2.	Tongkoi Kuki village	96	-do-
3.	Makokching Kom Kuki village	81	-do-
4.	Gampum Kuki village (partly Christian)	36	-do-
5.	Konjal Kom Kuki village	74	-do-
6.	Mapao Tangkhul Naga village	54	-do-
7.	Kharakhum Kuki village (partly Christian)	21	-do-
8.	Changobung Kuki village (partly Christian)	19	-do-
	Total	409	

The Imphal Christian Compound was sanctioned by Mr. L. O. Clarke, the then Political Agent of Manipur; and the Christian Cemetry by Mr. W. A. Cosgrave. The Christians were cosmopolitan in race, inclusive of Manipuri, Kabui, Kuki and Nepali. Tongkoi village was sanctioned by Mr. Cosgrave for the refugees from the Concentration Camp at Chingmeirong after the Kuki Punitive Measures (K.P.M.). Makokching also became Christian in 1917, through the relationship between Longkhubel, Chaison and his brother Yampu who was the head of the village. Gampum was an offshoot of Makokching. Trouble between Yampu the head-man and some of the Christians decided them to move out. Konjal was also an offshoot of Makokching. During April 1925, it received permission from the President of the Darbar to establish themselves at this new spot. Mapao Christian

village with ten to twelve houses became Christian in 1923, through the Revival among their tribe in the north-east area. They were separated into a new community with permission of the President of the Darbar. Kharakhun had few Christians living amicably with the heathen Kuki Chief whose son also became Christian in the Revival of 1923. The son died in 1924. The Mission had a school there with a Christian teacher. There was no trouble at all with this small community. Changobung was an offshoot of Lungpho Christian village, west of Kangpokpi Mission compound. There were only four houses, and no trouble existed with the heathen Kuki Chief.

Pettigrew had visited Tongkoi, Makokching and other villages where Association meetings were held on two occasions. In this connection he requested the Darbar for permission to allow A. Porom Singh, who was a Christian and Pastor of the Imphal Church to act as Superintending Pastor of the Churches in the northern section of the Sadar area and to allow Longkhubel to act in the same way in the southern section. His intention was to carry on a small school for the Christians in the Imphal Church building and to visit annually one of these villages to meet the Christians in Association. The Association meeting of the Sadar area Christians at Tongkoi was proposed to be held in January 1926, and it was to such meetings that he asked for a formal permission to visit.[10]

As regards the Christian communities in the northern section of the Sadar area Pettigrew frankly confessed that they had no qualified pastors who could be of help to the Christians for that section. The Mission was doing their best to train young men at Kangpokpi and at the Kohima Higher School of Training. But there was no student ready to undertake that kind of work for the next three years. One of the important aims of the Mission was to self support, self propagation and self administration and the materials they had in the training course were to help considerably in producing such a situation. Under these circumstances Pettigrew requested the Political Agent to sympathetically consider his suggestion about A. Porom Singh who could be made a Superintending Pastor until such time as the

Mission could put in trained men for the areas under discussion. Porom Singh was a man of good conduct and character. He had, so far, no word of condemnation either from the Mission or from the State officials. He had common sense that could save him from creating any situation in that area which would be annoying to the Darbar or to the Political Agent.

Pettigrew's argument was that the Manipur State Darbar had already given them permission to work in the north-east area among the Tangkhul Nagas, and in the north west area among the Thado Kukis, Kabui Nagas and the Kacha Nagas. It was only natural to believe that the Christians from both these accepted areas would come constantly in contact with the people who lie between them, however little the Mission workers of the Society came in touch with them. It was, therefore, necessary to have their Society working direct north of the Sadar area at Kohima and its surrounding villages bordering on Mao area for example, and also the same condition of things in the Chin-Hills bordering on the area in which the Kuki and the Anal Kuki dwelt direct south. The Sadar area was surrounded by hills and the Christians inhabited living in the area agreed upon by the Manipur State Darbar and the authorities of the Naga Hills and the Chin-Hills. Pettigrew emphasised that the communities formed in the Sadar area should be allowed to have the administration of Superintending Pastors as a means to their spiritual life in the Christian religion. By this the missionary did not mean asking for opportunities for evangelising by paid workers of the Society. He simply wished to act up to the spirit of the rules of the Darbar laid down for the work in the south-east area.

Pettigrew's application was forwarded by Mr. Higgins to the President of the Darbar on 10th June 1925, with an additional remark saying that the Imphal Christian village was situated in the British Reserve, and Porom Singh had been resident there for some time. There could be no objection to his ministrations, provided he adhered strictly to the Mission's undertaking not to convert any Manipuris. The village served a useful purpose as a Lodging for Christian hill-men who visited Imphal. The American Baptist Mission

had actually received permission from the Government in 1894 to work among the Tangkhul Nagas, and therefore, no objection could be raised to its emissaries visiting the Christian portion of Mapao. Mr. Higgins wrote to the President of the Darbar:-

> With reference to the other villages mentioned in Mr. Pettigrew's letter, he asks that either he himself or Porom Singh may be permitted to visit only the Christian villages periodically for the purpose of supervising the churches there. His reason for asking this privilege is that at present there are no men of these communities with sufficient training to act as Pastors in their own villages with the result that the Christians will be deprived of the ministrations of their religion, unless they are permitted to avail themselves of outside help.[11]

This application was duly considered by the Darbar but they resolved that they could not allow Pettigrew or Porom Singh to visit Christian villages in the Sadar area to the north of Imphal.[12]

Pettigrew's temporary efforts in the compilation of the archaic Manipuri grammar and vocabulary were yet to start; but he however, proposed to actually start the work from the 1st of April 1925, when he received a Darbar resolution saying that he would be given a travelling allowance of Rs. 7-8-0 per day during such time as he was engaged solely on the subject of the archaic Meitei in Imphal. Yumjao Singh had to gather all the documents and manuscripts needed for this work, a good part of which were already in the State Office. Pettigrew made another suggestion to the President of the Darbar that it would be of interest and possibly of great help in the investigation if the President could issue an order to the Kwatha villagers on the Burma Road to bring in the manuscripts they had so that he could compare and investigate them with what he and Yumjao Singh already had.

The President of the Darbar wanted to know who was to be considered the President or the Secretary of the Archaic Meitei Research Committee (if there were any) to whom monies could be paid and the enquiries regarding the progress of the work. As to the honour of holding this exalted post (President or Secretary), Pettigrew confessed in one of his letters dated 2nd April 1925, that the designation would go to Yumjao Singh.

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3. See *Extract of Minute* of the Assam Reference Committee of the A.B.F.M.S., recommending a division of Dr. Crozier and Rev. Wm. Pettigrew in their Mission work in Manipur by R. B. Longwell, Secretary, dated 13th December 1924.
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5. See copy to Action taken by the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Mission Society at their meeting held on the 27th and 28th of January 1925.
6. Letter No. AMS 60/25 from R. B. Longwell, Secretary & Treasurer, Assam Mission, A.B.F.M.S., to J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur, dated 2nd February 1925.
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8. Letter No. 146 - M.S., from J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur to J. P. Mills, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, dated Imphal, 20th April 1925.
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10. Letter from Rev. Wom. Pettigrew, Kangpokpi to J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur, dated 9th May 1925.
11. Letter No. 500 - G. A. from J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur to the President, Manipur State Darbar, dated Imphal, 10th June 1925.
12. See Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 13 of 17th June 1925.

FOURTEEN

New Conflicts Engineered by the North East India General Mission

Fresh conflicts between the North East India General Mission and the American Baptist Mission still continued as matters of missionary right. For instance in December 1925, the Secretary of the North East India General Mission sent a telegram to the Political Agent of Manipur saying that his Council understood that some of the village Chiefs were threatened with imprisonments by the State authorities of Manipur unless they expelled the converts of the Mission. According to the Secretary their Mission's Council would under no consideration agree that the agents of another organisation should be permitted to enter the field at the expense of workers and Christians by forcing to associate with the American Baptist Mission. He claimed to have no less than 4,000 converts of their Mission in the south-east Sub-Division of Manipur. But the Sub-Divisional Officer of the area concerned denied the allegations by saying that no Chiefs had been threatened with imprisonment if they refused to expel the converts of the North East India General Mission. According to his report a majority of the Christians outside the allotted area had removed voluntarily and he had evicted a few. The total number of houses concerned were only 63.

An unexpected incident occurred when two missionaries, namely—Mr. H. B. Dinwiddie who served under the Baptist Mission Society of America and Mr. K. D. Garrison of Central Province at Akola, who was also a Baptist missionary entered Manipur from Cachar District by boat. They landed at Tipaimukh and came to Tinsong on Tuesday the 1st December 1925, at 3 p.m. Next day at about 8 a.m. they started again for Burma to meet the missionary of Chin Hills toward the Tiddim sub-division's area.

It was not previously known whether they had permission from the Political Agent of Manipur to visit Tinsong. But Mr. Dinwiddie boldly told Rohmingliana, the evangelist at Tinsong that he had a certificate from the India Office of London to visit any British territories in India. When he unfortunately died of typhus fever at Champhai Military Guard, Lushai Hills, in the last week of the month his body was carried to Aijal and was burried by the European missionaries.

In February next year Rev. Garrison was informed by Mr. Higgins that no one was allowed to travel in the hills of Manipur without permission which could be obtained from him, and the only Mission to which His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar had accorded permission to send European or American representatives to the State was the American Baptist Mission. Even in that Mission no new missionary was allowed to visit the State without a special sanction of His Highness and the Darbar. Mr. Higgins wrote to Rev. Garrison at Akola:

> Doubtless you have erred through ignorance, but I have the honour to request that, in future, you and other members of your Mission will refrain from entering the Manipur State without first obtaining permission to do so.[1]

Actually Garrison's visit to Manipur and his failure to secure permission was entirely inadvertant. Dinwiddie was also instructed by a Mission Board in the United States to visit Tinsong in Manipur to ascertain whether the number of Christians and the spiritual conditions of the Church there and in the surrounding villages were as represented in America. When he obtained permission in London he presumed that he could travel anywhere in the British Empire except in the mandatory areas of Mesopotamia and he was assured in London that no further permission would be needed. Thus Rev. Garrison went with him merely to confirm his judgement and did not know at the time of going to Assam that the territory to be visited was within a Native State. On 16th February 1926, he wrote back to the Political Agent of Manipur:-

> So far as I know at present I shall never have called to visit Manipur nor is any member of our Mission likely to visit those jungles. In case such visit were contemplated we should, of course, seek permission before-hand.[2]

Mr. P. J. Testro, Field Treasurer of the North East India General Mission had distinctly informed Mr. Dinwiddie of the necessity of obtaining sanction, but he waived the matter by saying that his U. S. passport would permit him to travel throughout British dominions and he thought he could settle the matter with any official he might meet. The difficulty was that it was harder to get sanction for such visits if the Mission ignored the very persons set in authority to deal with such applications.

Both Dinwiddie and Garrison had spent the third weekend of November 1925, with Pastor H. K. Dohnuna at Lakhipur in the Cachar District. They were planning to visit the Sub-Divisional Officer at Churachandpur in the south west area of Manipur and to pass through other areas of the North East India General Mission in the State. When Pastor Dohnuna explained to Mr. Dinwiddie that Manipur was a Native State and he would require a permission from the Political Agent before entering he simply claimed that his passport was valid for the whole of the British Empire, and he did not require anything more.[3] Such problems created by the foreign missionaries were becoming more acute and they finally compelled the Political Agent of Manipur to draw immediate attention of the Assam Government. The situations found during the period were as follows.

The Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar always strongly and consistently expressed their objection of further extension in the sphere of the North East India General Mission. These objections were based, firstly, on an inherent dislike of Christianity due to apprehension lest it should spread to the ruling Manipuri race and compete with Hinduism which was the established religion of the State. Secondly, unlike the American Baptist Mission, the North East India General Mission lost their opportunity of expanding influence because of repeated defiance of the orders of Government and the expressed wishes of the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar. In addition to His Highness and the Darbar, the American Baptist Mission which was working in the State with the consent of the higher authorities and whose field in the hills was twice extended by the Maharaja, had on several occasions objected

vigorously to the expansion of the North East India General Mission and to the proposal that a European representative of that Mission should be permitted to settle in the State. The two Missions professed different dogmas and the presence of their semi-savage converts in the same village almost inevitably led to disturbances.

The unauthorised expansion of the North East India General Mission frequently presented possibilities of faction and strife. Where the Christians and .he animists resided in the same village, quarrels and disturbances were frequent. The Christians always broke away from the ancient customs and their Church organisations tended to weaken the authority of the Chiefs and village elders. The administration of the hill tribes was largely based on the authority of the heads of the villages and the animists were strongly tenacious of their ancestral customs. Subversion of the authority and a disregard of custom among the savage and uncivilised hill-men tended to disturbances which easily resulted in bloodshed.

Among the villages of the Tangkhul tribe where Christianity had already penetrated it was found necessary to divide the villages into Christian and animists hamlets on different sites, each community living under its own village elders. In some cases the Christians were compelled to move from the original village and in others the animists. This practice was acquiesced in by the American Baptist Mission which worked among the Tangkhuls. But by February 1926, the Christians only were ordered to move, the reason being that among the Kuki tribes the land of the village was entirely the property of the Chief and it seemed unjust to deprive him of his land owing to a change of religion on the part of a minority of his subjects.

H. K. Dohnuna who was missionary-in-charge at Lakhipur again wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur by repeating a misstatement that the State authorities had promised the Mission an extension when the boundary was first allotted. Claiming 4,000 converts inside the boundary and 1,000 converts outside, Dohnuna now asked for a permission to work in the east of the allotted boundary. If the request was not duly granted he threatened the Political

Agent of Manipur a 'Government action from England'. He also alleged that some evangelists and teachers of the Mission were compelled to do coolie work, and for this he accused the S.D.O. of 'persecution'. But it was of course absolutely untrue that Colonel Cole gave Dhala any reason to believe when the Mission would be permitted to work in the east of Kailam range. It was also untrue how Mr. L. O. Clarke gave Mr. Roberts any encouragement in this direction, as in December 1923, when fixing the area of the Mission field he issued very definite instructions to the Sub-Divisional Officers at Churachandpur and Tamenglong to see that workers of the Mission did not transgress the boundaries of that area. As regards the assertion made by Dohnuna that some evangelists and teachers of his Mission were forced by the Sub-Divisional Officer at Churachandpur to do coolie work without permitting them to offer substitutes, the Political Agent frankly told Dohnuna that he was misinformed. Because they were never selected for coolie work by the authorities unless they were ordered to labour as a punishment instead of fine or imprisonment. It was the universal practice for the Chief to select the persons who answered a call upon his village for labour and any one was at liberty to provide an efficient substitute. The teachers and evangelists of the Mission were not actually deprived of this privilege, provided they could obtain willing substitutes.

Dohnuna's another allegation on the Sub-Divisional Officer who was reported to persecute the Christians was also an impertinence. The evangelists and the teachers were receiving absolutely equal treatment with the non-Christians so long as they intended to obey the laws and orders of the Manipur State and of the Government. Any hardships they might have undergone were due solely to a wilful disregard of these laws and orders fostered or encouraged by the higher authorities of the Mission. Mr. Higgins wrote to Dohnuna at Lakhipur:

> It is incumbent on you, as a Christian teacher, to inculcate in your converts obedience to laws of the State, no less than to the laws of your religion. If you do so , you and your converts will have nothing to fear from the State and its authorities.[4]

Dr. Crozier came back to Manipur in the second week of June 1925, and accordingly the Darbar issued formal

permission for his stay in the State. But in May next year he became almost desperate in the matter of caring for the lepers in Manipur because the State grant allowed was only about Rs. 83 per month and his monthly bill was Rs. 174 for their food only and the pay of the Chaukidar. His fund from his own Mission for the medical department was less than half the total expense of that department exclusive of the food and Chaukidar for the lepers. He complained that he could not possibly carry the lepers on his regular appropriations. Of course he was receiving in special gifts from home almost enough to pay for the actual cost of the medicines he used for the lepers. For their support he needed a recurring grant of about Rs. 1,200 a year—allowing a little for increasing numbers. When he arrived back from furlough there were about 14 cases under treatment; but the number had now increased to about 50. The actual number at the close of April 1926, was 45, and four new cases had arrived exactly in the morning of 3rd May 1926. The cost of food varied from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-12-0 per month according to the price of the rice. The recurring grant of Rs. 1,200 which Dr. Crozier asked for was in addition to the Rs. 1,000 grant by the State for the food and Chaukidar and blankets for the new cases when cold weather came. With Rs. 1,000 and a little more from the Mission to Lepers, Dr. Crozier had constructed the temporary huts. These were also in a very bad condition and they required rebuilding. He said that he would try to patch them up again so as to last through the financial year of 1926, though it would cause considerable discomfort to the patients because of the leaky condition. The three leper huts and the Chaukidar's house were proposed to pull down and to rebuild as permanent structures for the experimental stage in the treatment of lepers in Manipur.

From his nearly ten year's experience with leprosy, Dr. Crozier said, the disease in Manipur could be eradicated in 20 years' time. But for an immediate accommodation of the patients at the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum he needed about Rs. 10,000 - for one new building and the rebuilding of the other three huts. He had just built a Hospital Ward with walls and roofs of corrugated iron of seven rooms to accommodate 21 patients. With Rs. 10,000 on this basis he could build the

four houses with little less than Rs. 10,000. For the lepers he needed to construct hoods and pipes for fires in their rooms. This he could do with the amount and probably also the Chaukidar's house. The water supply too was another acute problem. They got it from an open trench which was subject to contamination. Since Dr. Crozier found a large spring a little farther away from the Mission Compound a half-mile of two-inch pipe from there could meet the requirements of the leper colony. Allowing a little for cost of putting down, the approximate cost of the piping was proposed at Rs. 3,000. Dr. Crozier, now therefore, wanted to know if all these expenditures could be sanctioned by the State authorities of Manipur.

Resultant to Pettigrew's approach the Ukhrul Lease which had been granted to the American Baptist Mission in the year 1901, was first extended by the State authorities of Manipur for another period of 25 years. The following copy of the renewed lease was forwarded to Pettigrew by the President of the Manipur State Darbar during April 1926. A complete extract of the lease was read as follows:-

Ukhrul Lease

Whereas in 1901 a plot of land measuring more or less 125 bighas, 3 kattas near the village of Ukhrul in the North East Hill Sub-Division of the Manipur State was settled for a period of 25 years with the American Baptist Mission, at present known as American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, of which land a portion was resumed in 1921 by the State, leaving only 40 bighas, no katta, 5 lechas more or less in the possession of the said Society and whereas in accordance with a condition of the lease, Reverend William Pettigrew now residing at Kangpokpi, has applied on behalf of the said Society of a renewal of the lease of the land in its possession, I, C. G. Crawford, President Manipur State Darbar, on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar do hereby grant, with the approval of the Government of Assam, to the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, a lease for a further period of 25 years, of the land measuring more or less 40 bighas, no katta, 5 lechas marked as *Misssion Land* on the following conditions:-

1. The lease shall be current for 25 years from 1st April 1926, to 31st March 1951.

2. An annual rent of Rs. 25 (Rupees twenty five) only shall be paid on the 1st April of each year for the use and occupancy of this land.

3. The Society shall not have the right to sell or alienate the land in any way, nor to use the land for any purposes other than those immediately connected with the Mission.

4. If any of the above conditions are contravened, the lease will be forthwith cancelled and the land resumed by the Manipur State.

5. A renewal of the lease may be granted on the expiry of the above period at a revised rate and on such other conditions as may be fixed by His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar with the approval of the Government of Assam, provided that the said Society is still in possession of the land and that the land is occupied solely for the purpose of the said Mission Society.

6. That in case of non-renewal of this lease either by the wish of the State or of the Government of Assam and provided that such non-renewal is due to no default or conduct of the Mission, due compensation shall be made to the Mission for the permanent improvements and buildings on the ground covered by this lease. Valuation of the same to be determined by at least two representatives of the Mission together with two representatives of the State, the valuation to be subject to the Political Agent's approval.

After the renewal of the Ukhrul lease, one of the constructive works that Pettigrew did for the benefit of the State was his building of a Post Office at the Kangpokpi Mission compound. When he first arrived in Manipur in 1894, postal communication was in a hopeless condition, and two years after H. St. P. Maxwell, the then Political Agent of Manipur had actually requested him to act as Post Master for the people of the neighbourhood and the Police outposts in the Tangkhul areas, which the missionary gladly accepted. Now after a period of over 30 years Pettigrew again made an approach to the Political Agent to which Mr. Higgins showed no objection to the building of a new Post Office anywhere in the land at Kangpokpi covered by the lease of the Mission. The Superintendent of Post Offices in the Cachar Division also informed Mr. Higgins that the opening of an experimental branch Post Office at Kangpokpi was sanctioned, but for want of a suitable man to work as branch Post Master it could not be opened. Pettigrew selected a man called Teba Kuki, but he was reported to have been previously convicted for misappropriation. He was, therefore, requested to select another man as the Office would be accommodated by him. He however, intimated that no other man was available. The Superintendent, therefore, asked the Political Agent to cause an enquiry if a suitable man was available for the job. It was proposed that the man would be paid Rs. 14 per month including contingencies and allowance for delivery.

By August 1926, Pettigrew made an approach to the Manipur State Darbar and the Postal Department with a view to obtaining assistance towards the cost of erecting the recently opened Post Office at Kangpokpi. He personally paid the whole cost of the building from his own pocket amounting to Rs. 507/14/3. He was willing to bear the cost of annual repairs, but he asked that in view of the benefits conferred by the opening of the Post Office upon the Manipuri subjects and the tax-payers of the State residing in the vicinity, the Darbar at least could make a contribution towards the initial cost. But the Deputy Post Master General of the Assam Range, Shillong, in his letter of the 14th August 1926, wrote to Mr. Higgins that the Department would not contribute towards the cost of the Kangpokpi Post Office building. Also the Manipur State Darbar in their resolution No. 5 of 11th August, did not agree to contribute any funds for the maintenance of the Office.

The Manipur State Hill Budget for the year 1926-27 showed a surplus of less than Rs. 300, and it was thus possible for the Darbar to provide Rs. 1,000 which Dr. Crozier asked for the maintenance, either from savings or from the Reserve. But grants of Rs. 10,000 for buildings, and Rs. 3,000 for water supply were a more serious matter. The Political Agent expressed that he saw no prospect of the Darbar being able even if they were willing to provide so large a sum in the financial year of 1926-27. Therefore, he was holding up these requests for the time being until it was definitely settled what might be expected from the Mission to Lepers.

It was Dr. Crozier's intention to know if the Assam Government could do anything toward the plans of construction for the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi. He accordingly furnished a gist of the Asylum to the Second Secretary to the Government of Assam. His letter conclusively showed that, in view of the very considerable increase in numbers at the settlement even the grant of Rs. 1,250 was totally inadequate to provide for the feeding of the lepers apart from the large expenditure on medicines which was subscribed by charitable persons in America.

By a slow degree, matters on the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi became more complicated at the personal as well

as the Government level. One of the first stages when Pettigrew and Dr. Crozier counteracted each other was seen in connection with matters on the Asylum at Kangpokpi. Pettigrew assured the Political Agent that the offer of the Mission to Lepers was contingent on a guarantee from the Darbar that the State grant of Rs. 1,000 per annum would be permanent. Although the guarantee was given nothing had so far materialised in the way of assistance from the Mission to Lepers. Now the Darbar, to which Dr. Crozier made an appeal for additional funds for the maintenance of the patients in the Asylum, expressed their desire to know what had transpired with regard to the offer of the Mission to Lepers. When Dr. Crozier informed Mr. Higgins about the Secretary's unwillingness to do anything for the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum, the latter quoted a few lines from one of Pettigrew's letters in which the missionary was given hopeful financial assistance by the Secretary of the Mission to Lepers. Dr. Crozier still alleged that he had never seen any letter from the Mission offering to help in the matter of buildings. Considering the whole matter, Mr. Higgins unofficially charged Pettigrew stating that the contents of the letter (dated 7th May 1924) from the Secretary to the Mission to Lepers hardly fitted in with Pettigrew's statement. He was thus asked to come over to Imphal and discuss the whole matter with the Political Agent.

As a matter of fact, the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was only putting research and the training of Doctors in the first two places of its programmes, and after those items came treatment centres and propaganda only. Therefore, there was no chance of a donation from the Leprosy Relief Fund. It was the income and not the corpus of the fund that was to be expended, and it seemed probable that Assam which subscribed about Rs. 47,000 in all, was likely to receive only about Rs. 1,200 a year from the Fund, and this amount was to be spent on treatment centres only. On a proportionate basis, Manipur which subscribed about Rs. 1,605 would get back only Rs. 40 or so a year. Moreover, the Central Association did not advocate Asylums and Colonies. It was realised that if such were established in the province the funds would have to come out

of provincial revenues. The same principle was to be followed in Manipur also.

During last March 1925, Pettigrew wrote a letter to Mr. Crawford asking him to procure from the Kwatha village on the Burma road towards Tammu, the manuscripts they were said to have, in order to compare with those manuscripts he already possessed from the Manipuris in Imphal and from the Loi villages. He actually spent four days in Imphal with Yumjao Singh and the old Pandit and they jointly made progress on the preliminary work. He had an idea that the Kwatha people would probably refuse to hand over the manuscripts. But if the Personal Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur could hand over a few rupees to the Kwatha villagers it might be possible to procure what he desired so much.

Gopal Singh Pandit who worked with Yumjao Singh on the archaic Meitei research work, confessed that he was very week physically and therefore he wanted to take rest for some months. During September 1925, Yumjao Singh was transliterating the manuscript of *Sanamanik* which he forwarded to Pettigrew after completion. According to Yumjao Singh's estimate, Gopal Singh Pandit could not be relied upon to give the meaning of a word, and Pettigrew too was not particularly struck with the intelligence of the old Pandit. In fact, Yumjao Singh seemed to know more about the language than the old Pandit.

Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh had three meetings during 1925 at the latter's office in Imphal. They gathered a number of manuscripts together and investigated them in a careful manner. The absence of dates, names of copyists gave them little assurance that they were basing their investigation on something reliable. Again the question of Manipuri dialect in the past was worthy of investigation. The few manuscripts that Pettigrew had from the Loi villages raised some interesting historical points which he liked time to study further. He also wished to look some stone slabs and if possible to procure the loan of any copper plates that might be in the possession of some of the old gentry in Manipur.

Pettigrew asked Mr. Higgins's co-operation in getting into touch with a particular stone at Konthoujam village

which was about six miles towards Terakeithen where there was a *Laipham*. He suggested that if Mr. Higgins could accompany him and Yumjao Singh, His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur might be willing to allow them to look into this. But Mr. Higgins did not actually understand the religious observances among the families of the Hindu Manipuris and as such, he confessed to His Highness the Maharaja, to be very careful not to tresspass, when permission was granted to go at the *Laipham*, into any house or place where there was any objection to their (i.e., Europeans) going.

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2. Letter from K. D. Garrison, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, 260, West 44th Street, New York, U.S.A., H. Qs. in India, Akola, Berar, to J. C. Higgins, P.A. in Manipur, dated Akola, Berar, 16th February 1926.
3. Extracts from the Statements of P. J. Testro and H. K. Dohnuna furnished to the Home Council and the Field Director of the North East India General Mission, dated 18th March 1926.
4. Letter No. 130 - G.A., from the Political Agent of Manipur to Pastor H. K. Dohnuna, Lushai, North East India General Mission, Lakhipur, dated 17th April 1926.

FIFTEEN

Problems of the Kangpokpi Asylum

According to a version of Rohmingliana, the North East India General Mission had five Fields, viz., (a) Manipur with headquarters at Tinsong, (b) Tippera at Thlangsang, (c) Chittagong Hill Tracts at Shirthei or Padua, (d) Kachin at Kalemyo'and (e) Tamu with headquarters at Tamu.

Watkin Roberts was the General Secretary in India; Dohnuna was the Field Secretary for all the five Fields with headquarters at Lakhipur. Rohmingliana was the Field Suprintendent for Manipur – toward the west of Manipur River till January 1926, when he was suspended by the Standing Committee for sleeping with the wife of the late Pastor Dhala.

The Manipur Field was run by a Presbytery consisting of representatives of every Church. This body met annually, electing its own Chairman. In 1925, there were 120 members (3 or 4 from each Church) and Rohmingliana was the Chairman. The Presbytery also elected a Standing Committee to deal with urgent matters between the annual Presbytery meetings. There were 13 members of the Standing Committee which suspended Rohmingliana. The principal officers of the Mission in Manipur were — (a) Rohmingliana,Field Superintendent,who was given Rs. 50 a month; (b) Lalhminglova, Compounder, who received Rs. 40 as pay and (c) Vanchunga, Pastor, who received Rs. 40 as pay.

There were 26 School Masters paid by the Mission, ranging from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 as their monthly salary. In addition to this there were some Evangelists also paid by the Mission, but Rohmingliana could not exactly give the total numbers. There were Evangelists who were paid by the Church, i.e., from local subscriptions, ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15; and Pastors ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. These

Pastors and Evangelists were entirely responsible to the Presbytery.

The Tinsong Presbytery dealt only with villagers west of the Manipur River. There was a separate Presbytery of villages east of the Manipur River, and Bonga of Thingangphai was the Chairman. Thus Presbytery was broken up since the American Baptist Mission had absorbed most of the converts east of the Manipur River. It seemed probable that Khuplet was sent to Thorjam by Bonga and the Presbytery.

The head of the Tamu Field was Aikila Lushai who had been living in Tamu for about six months. He was sent there by Dohnuna.[2]

Although the Political Agent of Manipur expressed his doubtful attitude toward Pettigrew's quotation of a few lines from the Secretary of the Mission to Lepers in connection with the construction of the buildings at the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum, Pettigrew still defended his position by saying that it was no good putting up plans and policies to the Mission to Lepers about the scheme unless the grant-in-aid from the State could be assured. So when Dr. and Mrs. Crozier were on their way to Kangpokpi Pettigrew handed over all the important correspondenceson the leper work to Dr. Crozier. He had no doubt that the Mission to Lepers, whether from the New York Office or the London Office would help in the building projects as soon as they got the details. But Dr. Crozier did not write to Mr. Anderson, the Secretary till December 1925.

Having learnt on the failure of the Central Association in matters of financial assistance toward the Kangpokpi Leper Settlement, it was finally understood by the State authorities of Manipur that the Leprosy Relief Fund would not help and extend monetary co-operation. But the suggestion of the Central Association that the most satisfactory methods of combating leprosy was to be found in the establishment of local dispensaries rather than central asylums hardly applied to the special circumstances which prevailed in Manipur. There was no doubt that the incidence of leprosy was far higher in the hills than in the valley in Manipur, and it was impossible in view of the large

area concerned, to cope with the disease by means of scattered dispensaries, especially in consideration of the lack of personnel to open new dispensaries. Therefore, the State had no alternative but to continue the asylums at Kangpokpi and Imphal, though cases resident in the immediate neighbourhood could be treated as out-patients at those dispensaries which were in charge of a medical officer competent to administer the treatment.

Major McIver, the Civil Surgeon, knew that the Darbar paid nothing towards the cost of the buildings of the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum, and it was doubtful whether they had any right to interfere. But they were still contributing to the cost of maintenance of the lepers, and therefore, it appeared a good policy to consult with them, especially as the offer of the Mission to Lepers was contingent on the Darbar guaranteeing an annual contribution.

Although better constructed and more hygienic buildings were no doubt desirable, Mr. Higgins thought that the first and most important desideratum was to insure adequate recurring funds for the support and treatment of as many lepers as could be brought to the Settlement. Because buildings of the type to which the patients were accustomed would be erected very cheaply, and it was preferred to see a large number of lepers treated in unhygienic surroundings, rather than that the extension of treatment should be sacrificed in order to obtain a higher standard of comfort and hygiene among the inmates. Under the close supervision which Dr. Crozier and his subordinates were able to exercise, there could be no difficulty in insisting on a sufficient standard of cleanliness to keep the patients healthy even in the kutcha buildings. Moreover, it seemed that the able-bodied patients might be made to extend and improve the accommodation by their own labour in return for the treatment and maintenance which they received free of cost.

Mr. Higgins also suggested that if funds were not available for anything better, the patients might construct a water channel from the source to the Settlement and maintain trench privies with rough shelters. Also the church School house could be built with kutcha materials by the leper-Christians and scholars. There were apparently 18 of

the former and 29 of the latter. So long as the teacher was a leper undergoing treatment his salary was decided to be reduced below Rs. 10 in view of the fact that he received free treatment and maintenance. The Settlement was to be made partially self-supporting by giving the inmates land for cultivation. In this regard, the President of the Darbar was requested to find some land in the immediate neighbourhood which could be handed over to the Settlement. But whatever suggestions were proposed by the Local Government or the Political Agent of Manipur, Dr. Crozier could not easily accept them without objections. On 28th June 1926, he wrote to Mr. Higgins, "It seems to be a case of passing a law well suited to a certain locality and then making it of universal application without considering the different conditions."[3]

The general plan of dispensary treatment of lepers was probably the best that could be devised in densely populated areas. It could be worked out in the plains of Manipur if there were qualified and trustworthy men available to carry out the treatments. With the many young men in Imphal and other villages of the plains who had been in High School or had passed High School it was possible to find a sufficient number to carry out the scheme if money were available for their salaries and the medicine needed. Dr. Crozier was of opinion that in a matter of one year and six months these educated young men could be given the Compounder's course.

Among the hills of Manipur and other areas of Assam this method was not deemed suitable. Centralized congregation of the lepers was felt necessary. Of course in both regions there were advanced cases who would not respond to treatment, though they could be greatly helped and treated. But preference was to be given to the early cases in matter of treatment, segregating the advanced cases for public safety and humane care.

By June 1926, Dr. Crozier had at least 200 cases in hand. As soon as the buildings were provided, he said, Mr. Peters could be encouraged to complete a systematic search of all Tangkhul villages in his area to the limit of available accommodation, reserving a little for voluntary cases from

other areas. Then as the space became available Mr. Peters again might continue his village search till his area was completely cleared out. Then a thorough combing of one of the other areas could be conducted, making one village clean before another was systematically started.

Dr. Crozier's another suggestion was that all cases returning after treatment were to be registered in their Sub-Divisional office. This registration might well show the condition of the patient on arrival, the treatment he received, and the statement whether he was definitely discharged or not. The patient would be required to present himself for inspection thereafter as indicated on his discharge certificate. He thought the method would be useful for keeping tract of all the leper cases that came for treatment.

The Political Agent of Manipur finally decided to make a direct correspondence with the General Secretary of the Mission to Lepers at London, instead of gathering informations through either Pettigrew or Dr. Crozier. He understood that the Mission was anxious to have more information regarding the work of the Asylum and its prospects for the future before they committed to pecuniary assistance. He accordingly wrote to Dr. Crozier urging him to examine his financial position carefully and frame a budget showing estimates of future income and expenditure which would be laid before the Mission to Lepers to enable them for a final decision as to what contribution, if any, initial or recurring, the Mission was prepared to make to the Kangpokpi Asylum.

Manipur was a small and remote native State ruled by a Maharaja, on the borders of Assam and Burma. The State consisted of a central valley inhabited by a civilised Hindu ruling race, and surrounded by some 8,000 square miles of hills, sparsely inhabited by semi-savage tribes.

The Medical Officer of the State was an officer of the Indian Medical Service lent by the Government of India. The President of the Manipur State Darbar who administered the finances of the State subject to the control of His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar, and was also in charge of the hill tribes, was an officer of the Indian Civil Service. The above officers were Major McIver, I.M.S., and Mr. Crawford,

I.C.S. The other Government officers were the three Sub-Divisional Officers of the Assam Provincial Civil Service lent by Government to assist the President in his administration of the hill tribes.

There were two Leper Asylums in the State, i.e., (a) for the Hindus in Imphal the capital of the State. It was maintained by the State and put under the direct charge of the State Medical Officer, and (b) for the hill-men at Kangpokpi. It was maintained by the American Baptist Mission and was in charge of Dr. Crozier who was the Mission's Medical Officer in the State. There were some 16 lepers in the first, and about 60 in the second by the month of July 1926.

As to the incidence of leprosy and the number of lepers in the State there were no reliable figures. In the Census of 1921, the number of lepers in the State was recorded as 154. But there was no doubt that this figure indicated very far short of the actual number. In another *Memorandum*, the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association stated that, though the 1921 census showed only 100,000 lepers in India the actual figure was probably not less than 1,000,000. On this basis, there were 1,500 lepers and probably upwards of 1,000 in the Manipur State. On the incidence of the disease nothing definite was known, but it was heavier in the hills than in the central valley as the Hindu Manipuris lived in cleaner and more hygienic surroundings than the hill-men.

It was a fact that a definite scheme to deal with the leper problem in the State on progressive and effective lines did really exist. But the rapidity of its development depended entirely upon what funds could be made available. Both the hills and the general State medical administration were in charge of Government Officers who could be relied upon to deal with the problem sympathetically and energetically. In the hills at least, treatment could be made compulsory when the State authorities were in a position to offer it to all sufferers. The Darbar also wished to make it compulsory in the valley when they were satisfied as to the efficacy of the treatment.

In the matter of funds the President and the Political

Agent were ready to do their best to persuade the Darbar to contribute as much as the State finance could reasonably afford. The Kangpokpi Asylum was likely to be more generously treated in this respect than the one at Imphal, as the former being for hill-men received its grant from the Hill-Budget – a fixed proportion of the State income which was definitely earmarked for expenditure on the administration of the hills. This proportion was not likely to decrease in the near future, as it was stipulated by Government after a serious rebellion in the hills during 1917-1919 had been suppressed by Government agency and at Government expense. But the utmost that the State could afford would be but a drop in the ocean, and therefore, Dr. Crozier was requested to expend usefully any contributions which the Mission to Lepers and other charitable societies and individuals offered him.

As regards the personnel at Kangpokpi, the Political Agent could make no definite promise since the work was carried on in a portion of a grant of some 180 acres of land leased by the State at a nominal rent to the American Baptist Mission. The Medical Officer and his assistant were servants of the Mission and not of the State. In the event of their death or withdrawal there was no doubt that the Mission would replace them. When the Kangpokpi station was opened in 1917, it was an implied, if not an explicit condition, that the missionary sent to join Pettigrew in the State would be a Medical Officer and the Mission would do its best to meet the wishes of the Darbar in this matter. But if it were not possible for the Mission to provide a Medical Officer or an Assistant qualified to give the necessary injections it seemed an easy matter for the State to provide such an Assistant. The State had a gradually increasing staff of Indian Doctors and Compounders possessing qualifications even higher than or equal to those of Dr. Crozier's Assistant, and one of these could be made available to carry on the work of the Asylum under the supervision of the State Medical Officer. The Political Agent was anxious to do what he could to assist Dr. Crozier to explore every possible avenue which might yield assistance in the campaign against leprosy in the State. He also requested the Mission to Lepers to make some

contribution to Dr. Crozier's Asylum at Kangpokpi in both initial and recurring as generous as possible, in view of the fact that Dr. Crozier possessed the nucleus of a more systematic organization for dealing with the disease than elsewhere in the Assam Province.[4]

During September last, 1924, the Manipur State Darbar had already given a guarantee of a recurring annual grant of Rs. 1,000 to the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum, as the Mission to Lepers, to which the American Baptist Mission had applied for assistance in erecting buildings for the Asylum, wished to be assured regarding maintenance before committing themselves to any initial outlay. But the question of the erection of buildings was considerably delayed by the inaction of Dr. Crozier after his return from leave. Although he submitted plans to the Mission for the erection of buildings to accommodate 80 lepers at a cost of Rs. 16,000, no reply was received from the Mission to Lepers up to July 1926. The Secretary of the Mission, though genuinely willing to help, wanted to be absolutely assured of Dr. Crozier's ability to maintain and treat his patients before embarking on a considerable initial expenditure on housing them. This attitude was very reasonable, and therefore, the Political Agent wrote to Dr. Crozier urging him to examine the financial position and to frame a recurring budget which would satisfy the Mission to Lepers as to its stability, before asking them to expend so large a sum on buildings.

Dr. Crozier's income for the maintenance of the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum was made up from four sources:

1. The Manipur State Darbar.
2. A small annual grant from the Mission to Lepers.
3. Contributions from the American Baptist Mission.
4. Private charity.

In addition to this, Dr. Crozier received a very considerable sum in medicines from Dr. Muir of the Tropical School of Medicine at Calcutta for which no charge was made. Had any of these sources failed, he would be placed in a difficult position and would be compelled to discharge some of his patients half-cured, and even limit the numbers which he could take. Mr. Higgins, therefore, instructed Dr. Crozier to ascertain what assistance he could expect from

the Darbar, and budgeting from the minimum figure which the income from sources (3) and (4) above was not likely to fall, he could find out from Dr. Muir for how long and to what extent he was prepared to provide the Asylum with free medicine. After having possessed himself of all the above information, Dr. Crozier was asked to lay it before the Mission to Lepers requesting them for an initial grant for buildings and also for an annual grant to enable him at least to maintain and treat the patients in the Asylum, and if possible, to add to their number.

The number of patients under treatment at the time when the Darbar guaranteed Rs. 1,000 annually was less than 20. By December 1925, the number rose to 32, and in May 1926, there were 61 persons in the Asylum. Dr. Crozier had asked the Mission to Lepers for buildings to accommodate 80 patients, but he estimated that 200 lepers could easily be found in the hills and treated in the Asylum if he had the necessary income. Probably this figure greatly underestimated the number of lepers in the hills. Although the Darbar made another supplementary grant of Rs. 1,200 in addition to Rs. 1,000, the amount was still insufficient to maintain the patients at the Asylum. Dr. Crozier in his letter to the Mission to Lepers estimated the cost of 50 patients for a year exclusive of the medicine received free, at Rs. 2,720. So it was clearly evident that, if there had to be satisfactory expansion in the number of lepers admitted to the Asylum for treatment, the income would have to be substantially increased.

The Manipur State Darbar was fully aware of the desirability of making every effort to eliminate leprosy from the State. Dr. Crozier had expectations that if the necessary financial support was forthcoming this might be accomplished in twenty years' time. The Civil Surgeon was slightly less optimistic, but he said that this object could certainly be accomplished in time and that if energetic measures were taken, there was every prospect that the initial expenditure might be reduced after about ten years through the disease having been brought more or less under control. Considering all these circumstances, Mr. Higgins requested the President of the Darbar to make a guarantee

to Dr. Crozier for an annual grant for the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum either in the shape of a lump sum or of a per capita allotment.[5]

Dr. Crozier's suggestions were discussed minutely by the Political Agent in consultation with Pettigrew, Major McIver and Mr. Crawford, and he made some criticisms on them. He considered that Dr. Crozier had, to some extent, begun at the wrong end by asking for elaborate buildings before he was sure of being able to keep them filled. He wrote to Dr. Crozier:-

> You dream of 200 patients, definitely envisage 80, and actually have 60, though your present actual grant from the State for the current year 1926-27, which forms the greater part of your cash income, falls short by about 500 of the sum necessary for the maintenance of 50. And of the State grant, less than half has been guaranteed recurring.[6]

In one of Dr. Crozier's letters to the Secretary of the Mission to Lepers he stated that he could not give the cost of the Ethyl Ester as he received it free from Dr. Muir. But the Political Agent did enclose a copy of the cost of treatment for a leper in the Imphal Asylum supplied to him by Major McIver. He said that when the Mission to Lepers was in possession of full data they would be in a position to decide to what extent they were preparing to assist him in the way of—capital outlay upon buildings, water supply and sanitation; recurring expenditure in connection with maintenance and treatment and recurring expenditure in connection with evangelistic and sholastic work among the lepers.

Dr. Crozier's scheme appeared to Mr. Higgins as somewhat unnecessarily ambitious. Because the buildings of the type to which the patients were accustomed, affording ample shelter for health and comfort, could be erected very cheaply especially if the labour of the patients themselves was employed. Major McIver agreed with the Political Agent and he pointed out that most of the hill-men would probably prefer the type of house with which they were familiar. According to Major McIver, it was not absolutely necessary to have piped water, and in the absence of inexhaustible funds the spring could easily be brought to the Kangpokpi Settlement by an open artificial channel constructed by the lepers themselves. Then as regards latrines, the Civil

Surgeon suggested pit-latrines which, with an ample water supply could be converted into septic-tank type.

It was an accepted fact that exercise was beneficial to lepers and Dr. Muir had also recommended a certain amount of labour for them. All of Dr. Crozier's patients were drawn from a cultivating class, accustomed to hard work; and they were receiving board, lodging and expensive treatment gratis. Therefore, Mr. Higgins naturally felt that, in return they should give the maximum amount of labour of which they were capable. Salaried employees, such as Teachers, Chaukidars etc., of lepers were to offer their services for nominal pay. In addition to building work the lepers were allowed to take up cultivation, and Mr. Crawford also agreed to depute a lambu to ascertain what land, if any, near the Settlement was available for the use of the lepers. The crops grown would, of course, be utilised by Dr. Crozier for feeding the patients.

Mr. Higgins finally assured Dr. Crozier that he could rely on him to use whatever influence he possessed with His Highness the Maharaja, Crawford and the Darbar to raise the State grant as high a level as he could. After consultation with the President of the Darbar the following resolution was passed on 14th July 1926:

> Darbar resolved to guarantee a grant to provide for 80 lepers up to a maximum of Rs. 3,000 provided,
>
> 1. That buildings are erected by the Mission to Lepers or any other outside agency,
>
> 2. That the Leper Asylum continues to be administered in consultation with the Political Agent and the Darbar.[7]

A copy of the above resolution was sent to Dr. Crozier for information, but it was understood that the increased grant would take effect from 1927-28, and that the Darbar could not pay more during the financial year of 1926-27.

REFERENCES

1. J. C. Higgins noted that this was probably wrong.
2. See Note on a conversation with Rohmingliana of the North East India General Mission by Mr. J. C. Higgins, dated 18th June 1926.
3. letter from Rev. G. G. Crozier to Mr. Higgins, the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Kangpokpi, 28th June 1926.

4. Letter No. 819-G.A., from J. C. Higgins to the General Secretary, Mission to Lepers, 33 Henrietta Street, London, W.C. 2, dated Imphal, 9th July 1926.
5. Letter No. 820-G.A., from J. C. Higgins, P.A. in Manipur to the President, Manipur State Darbar, dated Imphal, 9th July 1926.
6. D.O. No. 822-G.A., from J. C. Higgins, P.A. in Manipur to Dr. Crozier, dated Imphal, 9th July 1926.
7. See Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 2 of 14th July 1926.

SIXTEEN

Proposals for a Co-operation Between Pettigrew and Mr. Roberts

In July 1926, Mr. Higgins informed the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin, Mawlaik, on the subject of the North East India General Mission which was reported to have established itself in Tamu. The chief representative in the Tamu field was said to be one Aikila Lushai. Mr. Higgins narrated that the evangelists of the Mission, whether European, Lushai or Kuki had persistently endeavoured to flout the orders of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar, and they caused considerable trouble in the hills. There was little doubt that the establishment of a centre in Tamu was a prelude to a campaign in the hills of Manipur adjoining the Kabaw Valley. So Mr. Higgins requested the Deputy Commissioner to warn Aikila Lushai and his evangelists not to enter the hills of Manipur and to instruct the Tamu Myouk and the Police Department for onward transmission of any report on the part of Aikila and his subordinates. By this time the American Baptist Mission was working in the south eastern hills of Manipur and they were violently antagonistic to the North East India General Mission. If the latter were permitted to establish itself in the area alluded to, there was every possibility of trouble between the ignorant and the uncivilised converts of the two Missions. Pettigrew also learnt that Rohmingliana had informed the Political Agent about the new establishment of the Mission field at Tamu some six months ago. But so far the Political Agent did not receive any news of the workers and their entrance into the Manipur boundary. This part of the hills was not opened to either the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission, and therefore, Mr. Higgins thought that Pettigrew was not actually interested in what went on there.

As was instructed earlier, the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin wrote back to Mr. Higgins saying that workers of the Tamu Mission station were under close vigilance of the Township Officer, U. Bs. Sein. He had actually visited Nankala village together with Mg Po Ba, Police Station Officer on 29th July 1926, and they made enquiries about the workers of the North East India General Mission. A small congregation composing of Aikila Lushai and two male members named Deng Kenguna and Chang Hbana together with their families numbering seven in all, were staying in Nankala village about three miles from Tamu. Their chief occupation was Taung (*yu* cultivation). Aikila Lushai and his handful of co-religionists were quiet and peaceful. Mr. U.Bs. Sein, the Township Officer duly read out the orders of the Maharaja of Manipur of these people. They promised to stay where they were and abandon any idea of preaching inside the Manipur territory.[1]

During January next year, Pastor Dohnuna of the North East India General Mission wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur that there were Roman Catholic workers at Tinsong and Senvong. One Lianhawla Lushai of Tinsong who had previously failed to get employment in the North East India General Mission had gone upto Haflong in answer to an invitation from the Roman Catholic priest there with a view to start working on the Roman Catholic Church in the south west hills of Manipur. This was likely to cause much trouble among the 5,000 converts of the Mission and thus Dohnuna requested the Political Agent to prevent Lianhawla from working in the south west hills. Mr. Higgins immediately wrote to Father Raygasse of the Roman Catholic Church Mission pointing out that the North East India General Mission had already established in the south west hills and that His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar were opposed to further missionary efforts. Actually Father Raygasse did not invite Lianhawla Lushai though the latter had twice visited him.

Mr. Watkin Roberts and Mr. Testro of the North East India General Mission had visited Imphal during March 1927, and they conferred with the Political Agent, the President of the Darbar and the two resident missionaries of

the American Baptist Mission, regarding the extension of the allotted area and the withdrawal of the order of 30th August, 1924, which restricted the Mission's workers in the south east hills of Thingangphai only. Mr. Roberts alleged complete ignorance of the boundaries of 1917 and 1923, and he put forward an argument that, as no boundaries were allotted to him by Government he and his workers were free to go where they pleased in the south-west hills. And that no definite orders against preaching having been passed by the President of the Darbar when locating Thingangphai, east of the Manipur River in 1920, the Mission's workers were consequently at liberty to use that village as a centre for unrestricted preaching throughout the south-east hills. During the conversation he demanded permission for teachers and converts to live where they pleased in the south west and the south-east hills of Manipur. The question of a possible co-operation between the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission was also discussed for the first time.

According to Mr. Higgins, ignorance of the boundaries could in no way exonerate Mr. Roberts and his subordinates from blame for working outside these boundaries. In order that no further misapprehension might exist, the Political Agent had enclosed a copy of the Order and he further requested that the workers of the Mission paid or unpaid, authorised or unauthorised, must in future confine their activities to the villages in the allotted area only, the villages outside the area mentioned in the Order and the village of Thingangphai (Khailen), which settled between the Manipur and the Chakpi Rivers with the consent of the President of the Manipur State Darbar.

The Political Agent's Order of the 30th August 1924, to which Mr. Roberts had referred to, prohibited the workers and converts of the Roberts's Mission from preaching in the Manipur hills, east of the Manipur River outside the village of Thingangphai. Because permission for the workers to move outside Thingangphai was contrary to the Order of December 1923, which fixed a boundary for his Mission in accordance with the orders of Government. It was also contrary to the principles of missionary amity and co-

operation as the Darbar had subsequently granted restricted permission to the American Baptist Mission to work among the Anals in this area. While it was quite immaterial to the Political Agent which Mission worked among the Anals or elsewhere he welcomed an amicable agreement and co-operation between the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission. Actually the former Mission had no power to delegate to Mr. Roberts or to any other Mission the sanction granted to it by the Manipur State Darbar to work among the Anals.

After taking full responsibility of the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum, Dr. Crozier for the first time submitted a detailed report which contained valuable informations for the year ending 30th April 1927. Progress and fruit of the former works marked the year 1926. State officers, the Mission to Lepers and home friends had combined to make the year 1927 a happy success. Twenty-three patients were discharged during the year as probably cured, making 32 in all since the establishment of the Colony in June 1918, as part of a camp of refugees under Dr. Crozier's care during the Kuki Uprising. These 32 did not include a number of patients discharged by the Civil Surgeon during Dr. Crozier's furlough.

Through the influence of the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals of Assam, Dr. Crozier was put into touch with Sir Leonard Rogers whose method was followed. But since his retirement the work was carried on under the direction of Dr. E. Muir, leper specialist of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, who supplied the special medicine free of cost and who received quarterly charts from Dr. Crozier showing the progress of all cases. The duration of treatment of the 32 leper patients at Kangpokpi was averaged at 12 months. One was treated for complete three years and one in three months. Discharge certificates were furnished for all cases on their return home and duplicates were sent to the Government headquarters of the area where the patients lived. They were required to report for inspection every two months by the headquarters' Medical Officers. The Sub-Divisional Officer of the north east area of Manipur made a thorough search for all cases in his area and he sent them to

the Kangpokpi Colony. The other two Sub-Divisional Officers of the hills were also making a survey of their areas and they sent to Dr. Crozier fresh cases as fast as the former ones were discharged thus keeping the number of patients under treatment at about 60. Though the accommodation was very inadequate the State authorities of Manipur had already agreed to increase their support upto 80 patients. Classified by races the 32 cases already discharged from the beginning were as follows:- Tangkhuls (15); Anals (5); Kabuis (4); Kukis (4); Manipuri Mohammedan (2); Hindu Manipuri (1) and Nepali (1). Among them there were 15 Christians, 13 non-Christian animists, 2 Mohammedans and 2 Hindus etc.

Nine persons were baptized since the beginning of 1927. For eleven months a Tangkhul Mission teacher conducted a Lower Primary School in the Colony; but after his discharge on the 1st of May, two of his pupils were doing their best. The School was started with 29 pupils who were mostly adults. It had an average monthly attendance of about 18. A number of the pupils were considered probably cured about the middle of the year and they were allowed to return to their villages.

Almost half of the cases lived in tiny grass huts constructed by themselves. Water from a large mountain spring was brought to them in an open trench. They were encouraged to have little gardens of their own who were nominally required to work for two hours daily—cutting jungle and keeping their Colony grounds clean, making road, preparing rice fields and caring for their own water-course. Dr. Crozier stated that good buildings and sanitary provisions were urgently needed, and the non-leprous children were to be kept apart from the parents. Six different varieties of bamboo were set out so as to provide building material and a start was made at growing fruit and nuts on the available ground. The Kangpokpi Leper Colony was looking forward to the visit of Dr. Cochrane of the Mission of Lepers next dry season.

The Superintendent regularly conducted services for the lepers on Sunday afternoons for which attendance was optional. The Victrola was often taken. Sometimes school-

boys did the speaking and singing using two or more of the seven languages spoken there. The services were in four groups according to language and the Mission field workers were present from different areas. These services were often made a bit more pointed by a basket of vegetables available for distribution at the close of the services.

The local Overseer was a non-leper and aside from supervising the upkeep of the grounds and conduct of the people, he also looked after their work and helped much in treating the cases both specifically and generally. He was a Christian of the Kuki tribe.

The Kangpokpi Leper Colony was beautifully situated on the mountain-side looking towards the east down to the Manipur River and the Government motor road. It was about a quarter of a mile from the residence of the medical missionary on the main part of the Mission Compound. The Colony was allotted by the State as a regular part of the Mission Compound about 36 acres of which two or three acres at one corner being reserved for a small tuberculosis sanatorium and another corner near it was reserved for the residence of a Medical Assistant. Dr. Crozier also submitted the following financial statement involved in the Kangpokpi Leper Colony:

To:	State Grant	...	Rs. 2,273-2-0
	Friends in America	...	Rs. 622-7-3
	American Mission to Lepers	...	Rs. 276-0-0
	Main Office Mission to Lepers	...	Rs. 661-14-11
			Rs. 3,833-8-2
By:	Rice for lepers	...	Rs. 2,275-6-0
	Salary Local Overseer	...	Rs. 180-0-0
	General medicine & soap	...	Rs. 365-3-6
	Care of babies	...	Rs. 46-5-6
	Milk for one case	...	Rs. 2-0-6
	School: books, salary etc.	...	Rs. 115-8-9
	Repair of building	...	Rs. 122-0-0
	Incidental charges	...	Rs. 27-13-0
	Balance on hand	...	Rs. 699-2-5
			Rs. 3,833-8-2

The above balance was held for lumber partly collected for the new building. No charge was made for the service of the regular Mission Medical Assistant, one-fourth of whose time was taken in this work.

The special medicine was supplied by Dr. Muir of the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta as part of his experimental work. Besides the abovementioned fund of Rs. twenty five was received from the Secretary in India of the Mission to Lepers as a Christmas present from somebody in Philadelphia. Out of this amount the lepers had enjoyed a feast and the missionaries too enjoyed telling them about Christmas. Dr. Crozier used a little of it for vegetable seeds. He personally made a promise to the lepers in 1927—a rupee, eight annas and four annas for the best gardens.[2]

Some time in May 1927, Mr. Roberts requested the Political Agent of Manipur for a further grant towards the medical work of the North East India General Mission (it is not known when and how this medical work of the Mission had been permitted by the State authorities of Manipur). He mentioned that their treatments at the Tinsong Dispensary during 1926 were over 11,000. The work became so heavy at the Tinsong Dispensary that they decided to open two others within an easy reach of that village. The head-Compounder who was in-charge of that work wanted to organise another Dispensary at Thlanchhip (?); and another who had qualified himself at the Berry White Medical School wanted to open a Dispensary at Senvong. These three Dispensaries, however, were proposed to be put under the control of Pastor Lalnghinglova. Mr. Roberts' earnest desire was to receive a larger grant than the nominal Rs. 200 being given during the time by the State authorities of Manipur.

In April 1927, Mr. Roberts wrote an unexpected letter addressing to both Pettigrew and Dr. Crozier at Kangpokpi. He personally requested them to finalise the question of handing over the Mission work in the south east hills of Manipur as there were more important problems relating to the conduct of some officers in regard to the destruction of over 30 Christian houses in the south west area which he wanted to lay before the Parliament and for which purpose he wished to stay at London for several weeks. But Mr.

Higgins made an assurance that neither the Maharaja of Manipur nor the Darbar had been consulted in this matter, and the blame therefore, would rest entirely with the members of the North East India General Mission. However as the Secretary of State for India wrote to their Home Secretary for precise information and the identity of the officers concerned, Mr. Roberts wished to visit Imphal with his Attorney some time in July 1927, in order to get an exact information required by the Secretary of State.

Mr. Roberts pleaded that the suggestion of a disregard of Orders was not very clear to him. He thought it possible that these were largely resulted from the 'expert information' being constantly brought to the notice of the Political Agent by Pettigrew, who of course, made a full confession about this to Mr. Roberts when they met at Imphal. He trusted, however, that the exposure of Pettigrew's attitude against the work of the North East India General Mission in the past brought out so plainly and the expression of a desire for co-operation between the two Missions, cleared this matter altogether. With regard to the number of converts of the Mission in the south east of Manipur hills previous to the advent of the American Baptist Mission workers into that area, Mr. Roberts pointed out that the figures given to the Political Agent by their workers in August 1924 (he actually overestimated the number of converts in the south east; while one of his workers stated the total number of converts as 71 another said 64 only), actually related to the number of those who had refused baptism by Pastor Longkhubel. This man, according to Mr. Roberts' information, sought to intimidate their workers as well as the converts, and it was only some 60 to 70 out of about 500 who were strong enough to withstand his interference.

According to a version of Mr. Roberts the Home Council of the North East India General Mission was greatly relieved after having received an assurance from the Political Agent of Manipur that neither the Darbar nor His Highness the Maharaja were responsible for the destruction of over 30 Christian houses in the south-west area of Manipur and for the imprisonment of one of their workers (Ginthong). The Home Council actually took up this matter with the

Secretary of State and it was their intention to have the facts brought to the notice of the Parliament with a demand,

1. for the dismissal of the officers concerned,

2. full compensation to the sufferers, and

3. the reinstatement of the converts in their respective villages.

Since Mr. Roberts made certain claims of their rights in the south-east areas of Manipur before the advent of the American Baptist Mission, Pettigrew now wanted to make a very clear and definite statement which he made through a 'personal letter' to Mr. Higgins on 16th June 1927. He said that Dr. Crozier and he had carefully investigated the south east matter with the help of the Indian Christian leaders of their Mission in Manipur, and in the presence of Ngulhao's brother Sathang Christian who had been the leader of that area while Ngulhao was at Tamenglong in 1920, and while he was in jail in 1921 and 1922. Pettigrew vehemently expressed that members of the American Baptist Mission were first on the field of the south east area of Manipur even before there was any evangelistic work done by Tawna of the North East India General Mission. To demonstrate these facts he enclosed the following Memo No. 625/Hill-M.M. No. 509/1919-1920 and M.M. No. 109/1920-1921 from Mr. C. G. Crawford, President of the Manipur State Darbar:

> Ngulhao was given permission by Mr. Gimson on 9th September, 1919, to settle in the Chakpi valley. I do not know whether he actually settled then.
>
> Thingangphai was given permission to settle in the Chakpi area about the beginning of 1920.
>
> Thingangphai certainly had not settled in the Chakpi valley by 29th March 1920. My office Lambus tell me that Ngulhao actually went to Chakpi in 1919, but there is nothing on the record about this. Mr. Gimson did not in the first instance give Ngulhao permission to evangelise, as Ngulhao never asked him for such permission.
>
> On 22nd September 1922, however he wrote to you (Pettigrew) saying, "so long as they behave well, nothing will be done to stop them (doing the work of an evangelist)".
>
> There is nothing to show that Thingangphai was ever given any orders on the subject of evangelising, at the time they were allowed to settle at Chakpi.

In the light of the evidence given, Tawna knew absolutely no Manipuri when he established himself at

Thingangphai after 29th March 1920. Sathang had already started a school at Chakpi in March 1920, and seven converts were reported to have baptised by him that year. Ngulhao supported an evangelist and a teacher at Chakpi in 1920. Before Pettigrew produced the contents of Mr. Crawford's abovementioned Memo. both Ngulhao and Longkhubel corroborated all the statements made by the President himself.

Under these circumstances, Dr. Crozier and Pettigrew came to conclusion that a "proposed letter"[3] to Mr. Roberts would be most appropriate; but they thought it better to let the Political Agent see what they proposed to write. Whether opinion they had regarding Mr. Roberts personally, there was no doubt about his aggressiveness and even of pugnacity and they were convinced that these characteristics were exemplified in the workers of the North East India General Mission in the south east section of the Sadar area.

Mr. Roberts did not seem ready to carry out that what he himself suggested, i.e., a spirit of co-operation or an amicable agreement. Rather it seemed to Pettigrew as a determined effort on the part of Mr. Roberts attempting to oust the American Baptist Mission workers and their missionary from that section. Pettigrew therefore, suggested that it would mean more trouble so long as those two villages of Thinganphai and Thorjam remained situated where they were and if their workers were allowed to remain there to carry on in an unofficial way. In any case, the field should be under one Mission control only. The American Baptist Mission had never attempted to interfere with the workers of the North East India General Mission on the Christians of the south west area. They had left them severely alone, and as such they could find no cause to complain as far as the American Baptist Mission was concerned.

Pettigrew thought that the wiser course would have been to allow the American Baptist Mission full control of the south east area when permission to evangelist was practically given to Ngulhao as shown in Mr. Gimson's letter of September, 1922, or even from the time when the Anal Christians then numbering over 100 had petitioned in June

1922. The question of distance from headquarters which Mr. Roberts spoke about was not worthy of consideration, because motor-cars and lorries could get the American missionaries within 12 miles of the most central of their Anal Christian villages. If the permission for full control of that area were given to the American Baptist Mission as early as 1922, the existing trouble with Mr. Roberts and his workers also could have been averted easily. His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar now considered the reasonableness of the request since the logic of events coupled with the spirit of Mr. Roberts actually demanded full control of the south-east area by the American Baptist Mission. Because it seemed to them waste of men and money to keep on as they were.[4]

Pettigrew's "proposed letter" was dated 16th June 1927, addressed to Mr. Watkin Roberts for his perusal, criticism, objection, rejection and return. Some of the important points in the letter were as follows:

1. The Anal Christians themselves repeatedly expressed that the American Baptist Mission should have free hand in that area.

2. The Christian leaders of the north west, north east and the Sadar areas who constituted the membership of the Manipur Baptist Council had urged--

(a) for the removal of the two villages of Thingangphai and Thorjam to the south-west area,

(b) if agreeable, to request the North East India General Mission to come under the American Baptist Mission,

(c) the complete opening of the south east area to the American Baptist Mission workers and its missionaries.

3. As regards a proposed committee of investigation by Mr. Roberts, Pettigrew strongly opposed to the formation of such a committee which would of course, convene at some distant place. Because it would entail loss of valuable time of the missionaries and workers as well as Mission money. According to Pettigrew, such a Committee of Investigation did not convey to him a sense of 'co-operation between the two Missions', or 'an amicable agreement', to use Mr. Roberts' own words. Rather it seemed nothing less than an

attempt to oust the American Baptist Mission from that area altogether.

4. If such a Committee was demanded by Mr. Roberts, then the Political Agent of Manipur should be the Chairman, or at his option, he could appoint some one else to act as Chairman and that the place of meeting should be in Imphal.

5. Personally Pettigrew did not see any reason for calling such a Committee, and therefore, he wished to consent to it as a privilege to the demands made by Mr. Roberts.

Finally, Pettigrew expressed his regret for the additional matter which Mr. Roberts included in the final paragraph of his letter of 22nd April 1927. It dealt with matters which were absolutely outside the sphere of the American Baptist Mission's operations, and it had no connection whatever with the trouble in the south east area, the Mission and its Missionaries. Pettigrew wrote to Mr. Roberts:

> We fail to see where your appeal for co-operation and an amicable agreement with our Mission in the south east area is shown in this most unfortunate final paragraph of your letter.[5]

Although the Political Agent and the Manipur State Darbar virtually supported in the preservation of the archaic Meitei script, Pettigrew who was in charge of the investigation could not devote much of his time during the past few months, as because he had to lay out plans for a co-operation and agreement between his Mission and Mr. Roberts who represented the North East India General Mission. As a result of this diversion, and in his absence, Yumjao Singh tried his best to make progress although with slight degrees. His first attempt was to draw an immediate recognition of Sir George Grierson in his joint endeavour with Pettigrew on the archaic Meitei research work. In one of his letters dated 6th July 1926, Sir George Grierson made a remark:-

> It is of considerable scientific importance that all the texts in old Meithei should be printed and made available to students till all Meithei works have appeared.[6]

This was also Yumjao Singh's desire as he mentioned in his introduction to *Langlol*. But unfortunately most of the old Meitei manuscripts were annually disappearing on account of ignorance and want of proper care. The Manipuris who

happened to be in possession of the manuscripts kept them as long as possible without divulging their secret possession till they became a prey to worms and when they became useless the owner used to throw them into water. In most cases their prejudice did not induce them to part with the manuscripts or let other coy them out. A decent number of these manuscripts came into the possession of Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh during their investigation of the archaic Meitei. It was made a moral imposition on their part to preserve the rare antiquities of the fast losing and unfortunate archaic literature of the Meitei script.

Although Grierson obtained a list of words from the old Meitei scripts through His Excellency the Governor of Assam, he could not find to secure a continuous text. Somehow he received a copy of Yumjao Singh's edition of the archaic Meitei work *Langlol* with a translation into modern Manipuri. He reported that Yumjao Singh's work was undoubtedly a step in the right direction, but there did not appear to be much prospect of further editions being made available to students. Grierson did not know enough Meitei to criticise the work though he strongly felt that any efforts to preserve such texts were most commendable. He wrote to Yumjao Singh encouraging him to go on with the work, and pointing out that the value of such editions would be greatly enhanced if one or two of them were provided with English as well as modern Manipuri translations.

Grierson was quite unaware of the share that Pettigrew was taking in the investigation with Yumjao Singh. But he was persuaded that it was an important one and his object was to interest the Assam Government in the scheme and to express the hope that it would encourage the officials of the Manipur State Darbar to carry on with the energy that it deserved. If funds were available, he suggested, the Assam Government could publish an edition of one of the oldest Meitei books in facsimile by photo-lithography or some other similar process with a careful translation in the Roman character along with an English translation by Pettigrew who could provide an Introduction describing the language and comparing it with the modern form of speech.[7]

By January 1927, Pettigrew showed no objection to Yumjao's securing a Pandit who could write out the

manuscripts of the best they had so far procured. He however liked to select the manuscripts himself from the stack and give them the job of copying out for the next six months. The transliteration and translation were to be made at Kangpokpi.

In view of the importance attached by Sir George Grierson to the preservation of the archaic Meitei language, Mr. Higgins thought it most desirable that the substance of all existing ancient mansucripts should be collected and preserved. Although the manuscripts themselves were valuable from an archeological standpoint they were in no way unique. Sufficient of them were already acquired by the State authorities to ensure that they would not entirely disappear. His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur had promised his assistance in collecting such manuscripts which were yet to be submitted to Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh. The Maharaja immediately granted permission for a translation of the official State Chronicle, viz., *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. But the copying and translation of the archaic Meitei by the Pandits and the reproduction in facsimile of one or more of the old manuscripts as suggested by Grierson, meant money. Therefore, in February 1927, Mr. Higgins made an approach to the Under Secretary of the Assam Government (Education Department) for a considerable grant to meet the expenses for the copying and reproduction. He heard from Dr. Hutton that there was a scientific endowment in England known as the James Furlong Memorial Fund, founded for the encouragement of scientific research of this description. Mr. Higgins considered that Sir George Grierson might succeed in inducing the trustees of this fund to contribute towards the investigation of Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh.

As a result of the correspondence made between Sir Grierson and the Government of Assam the scope of the work on the archaic Meitei language became considerably enlarged. So Pettigrew thought that the whole process of translation, transliteration and the copying of the manuscripts would not be completed by the end of March 1927. In March again next year (1928) he had to go on furlough, therefore, he had to finish the work devoting all his time before he went away.

As regards the translation of a couple of manuscripts for reproduction by photo-lithography, Yumjao Singh suggested one from the Group A and another one from the Group B:-

Group A

1. For historical interest one of the State Chronicles, viz., *Cheitharol Kumbaba* or *Ningthourol Lambuba* was suggested. The former contained 496 leaves and the latter 348 leaves.

Group B

1. For literature and language one of the manuscripts, viz., *Nauthingkhong Phamkaba* or *Sanamanik* was suggested. The former contained 39 leaves and the latter about 70 leaves.

Cheitharol Kumbaba--It was a sort of diary recording the daily transaction and important events of the State. It professed to begin from Pakhangba the mythical ancestor of the royal house and thus it recorded all the important events with dates from Pakhangba upto date.

Ningthourol Lambuba--It also gave the names of the kings from Pakhangba upto Sir Chandra Kirti Singh, K.C.S.I., who died in 1886 together with an account of various important places and how they obtained their names.

Nauthingkhong Phamkaba--It related the story how Nauthingkhong, a Prince of Manipur was saved by his wife of the Angom Shalai, when the Angoms were about to kill him on a suspicion of intriguing against them with his father Ura Konthouba, King of Manipur. He then escaped to the King of Moirang where he was again married with the daughter of the Moirang Chief. At last he was sent to the Chief of the Luwangs for training and education and eventually was made king of Manipur. The story gave an account of at least four of the oldest Shalais or clans of Manipur.

Sanamanik--It was a foreign story describing how Sanamanik's mother was exiled by the intrigue of her six brothers-in-law the sons of the King of Benaras. It narrated the story how the child was born in a jungle admist wild beasts and without anything to eat, and how the child was

kidnapped by the garland maker and at length how he became the king of a vast empire.

Out of the above four manuscripts, Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh selected *Ninthourol Lambuba* and *Nauthingkhong Phamkaba* for reproduction by photo-lithography, since the two manuscripts were said to afford interesting and complete examples of the archaic Meitei language.

REFERENCES

1. Burma, General Department, No. 5445/5 M-12, Letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Upper Chindwin, forwarding a letter from U. Bs. Sein, Township Officer, No. 470/2 M, dated 31 July 1926, to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Mawlaik, 20th August 1926.
2. Condensed version from the *Report* of the Kangpokpi Leper Colony for the year ending 30th April 1927, by Dr. G. G. Crozier, Kangpokpi, dated 11th June 1927.
3. One of the most important and confidential letters from Rev. Wm. Pettigrew to Watkin R. Roberts is reproduced in full for the first time.
4. From a Personal Letter by Rev. Wm. Pettigrew to Mr. J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated Kangpokpi, 16th June 1927.
5. *Proposed Letter* drafted by Rev. Wm. Pettigrew, to Watkin R. Roberts of the North East India General Mission, dated Kangpokpi, 16th June 1927.
6. Cited in a letter from Wahengbam Yumjao Singh to Sir George Grierson, dated 28th September 1926.
7. Letter from Sir George Grierson, Supdt. of the Linguistic Survey of India to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam (Shillong), dated 25th October 1926.

SEVENTEEN

Views of the Governor of Assam on Mission Activities

The workers of the North East India General Mission against were conduct the Political Agent of Manipur repeatedly complained were all those who were in immediate charge or control from 1910 onwards. In addition to Mr. Roberts himself, they included Messers. Rowlands, Morgan, Dhala, Dohnuna and Rohmingliana. The accusation against them was their persistent and deliberate disregard of the orders of Government and of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar, communicated to them by successive Political Agents and Presidents of the Manipur State Darbar. However Mr. Higgins readily acknowledged that the Mission had done good work in many respects. His only complaint was against the workers of the Mission who obstinately and determinedly refused to abide by the territorial limits placed to their work at the request of Mr. Roberts himself.

As regards the question of a co-operation between the North East India General Mission and the American Baptist Mission, the Political Agent understood that representatives of the latter Mission regarded Mr. Roberts' suggestion of 'co-operation' as an attempt to oust their workers from an area in which they were first in the field. Mr. Higgins, in the meantime, received a communication from the local representative of the American Baptist Mission who suggested that owing to the friction caused by the workers of the North East India General Mission their converts in the south eastern hills should either agree to join the American Baptist Mission or they should be evicted into the area allotted to their Mission.

The number of converts in the south eastern hills of Manipur was of course immaterial to Mr. Higgins. In the first place, Mr. Roberts had no right to work in an area that was

outside the boundary allotted to him. Moreover, the American Baptist Mission was undoubtedly first in the field though unauthorised and they had from the beginning more converts than the North East India General Mission. The essential point was that while the American Baptist Mission was actually permitted by His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur to work in the south eastern hills, the North East India General Mission had been refused. It was clearly undesirable from every aspect, to have two Missions competing in the same area, and until permission to work was transferred from the American Baptist Mission to the other Mission by His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar, the Political Agent had to prevent the latter Mission from working in the concerned area.

All the circumstances leading to the above situations were reported to the Chief Secretary of the Assam Government. But regarding the eviction of certain converts of the North East India General Mission from villages outside the area allotted to their Mission, Mr. Higgins further stated in his report that, unauthorised settlers among the nomadic Kuki tribes were habitually evicted from villages where they were trespassers, orders being usually enforced by the burning of their houses after due warning. It was, therefore, out of the question that the converts of the Mission should claim exemption from obedience to orders and preferential treatment after such disobedience merely on the ground that they were Christians. The Political Agent, however, considered the order of eviction unnecessarily drastic in respect of persons born in the villages concerned, and he accordingly issued orders protecting such persons from eviction.[1]

In September 1927, Mr. Roberts accompanied by an Attorney came upto Imphal and he stayed there for some days recording the evidence of his converts. He interviewed the Political Agent and the President of the Darbar; and he still renewed his demands for a free hand in the south west and the south east hills of Manipur. When his demands were denied by the Political Agent Mr. Roberts boldly threatened the State authorities of Manipur that he would bring the brutal eviction of his converts to the notice of the British

Christian public. At a subsequent interview with the President of the Darbar, he proposed a compromise on the understanding that the whole of the south-west hills should be opened to his Mission. But the exact meaning of the suggested 'compromise' was not clear to anybody. The President simply told Mr. Roberts that neither he nor the Political Agent had the power to extend his area in view of the orders of the Government, the attitude of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar.

Pettigrew's interest in the Anal Kuki tribe in the south east area of Manipur actually begun in 1915, when his wife and himself returned from furlough. His claim to have started missionary work first in the field in 1917, 1918 and 1919 was based on facts substantiated by witnesses and documentary evidence. Yet the North East India General Mission could not prove to have had any interest or claim to that portion of the State prior to 1920. Because in the previous year permission was granted to a company of the north-west area Christians to settle and do evangelistic work in the south-east section. Next year a company of the Christians belonging to the North East India General Mission was allowed in the south-east section to settle without a permission to do evangelistic work.

In 1924, owing to a disobedience of the orders issued by the Manipur State Darbar, and in the light of the reports furnished by the converts of the American Baptist Mission numbering over 300 at that time, four workers of the North East India General Mission were called before the Political Agent in October. The American Baptist Mission converts reported that in two villages these converts of the other Mission had visited and sprinkled the children belonging to the American Baptist Mission. The statement of these four workers were recorded and the Political Agent took to writing the official orders of the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar, concerning that section of the State. Copies of his official orders were communicated to the above four workers.

In spite of this, the four workers still disregarded the orders of the State and more than once they entered the villages within the boundary already allotted to the American Baptist Mission and they enticed the converts away to their

original villages established in 1920. The Anal Christians frequently reported to Pettigrew the friction caused by the presence of these workers and they sent in petitions direct to the President of the Darbar. Their last petition was submitted in July 1927, requesting the Manipur State Darbar to issue orders for the removal of two villages inhabited by the converts of the North East India General Mission to the south-west area of the State where this Mission was recognised and allowed to work by orders of the Darbar. Failing this, the Anal Christians requested to include the two villages under the control of the American Baptist Mission.

Pettigrew directly mentioned that Mr. Roberts showed a lack of appreciation of the fact that he was dealing with a Native State whose internal administration was under the control and power of the Maharaja of Manipur and his Darbar. The Maharaja was a Hindu and the members of the Darbar were very conservative Hindus. If there were anything more distasteful to the Darbar, it was the propagation of Christianity among the animistic tribes surrounding the valleys of Manipur. For nearly 34 years since Pettigrew's entrance into the State, his Mission work had been edged around with numerous restrictions in the form of official orders issued either by the Political Agent during the minority of His Highness the Raja of Manipur, and then by him and his Darbar after his ascending the gaddi. But Pettigrew did not believe that the cause of Christianity in Manipur had suffered just because of these frictions and just because he had been led to acquiesce in them. Now after an acquaintance of nearly 17 years with the personality of Mr. Roberts, his missionary activities and his attitude towards the higher authorities of the State, Pettigrew offered an 'objective criticism' of the man:

> So far as I can judge, Mr. Roberts does not or will not recognise the differences between a Native State and British Territory. He will not recognise the resolution and orders of the State Darbar as coming directly from them. He denies the right of the Political Agent working thru the wishes and desires of the Maharaja of Manipur and his Darbar, to issue orders on Mr. Roberts' workers, when such workers are knowingly disobeying the orders of the Darbar. He denies my right on behalf of the Mission, or the right of our Christians in the south-east area to voice their disapproval of the method carried out by the workers

> of his Mission. In other words, he sees no reason whatever for any restriction on evangelistic or proselytizing work carried on by his workers in prohibited and unauthorised territory.[2]

Mr. Roberts was called to account in 1922 by the Bengal and Assam Chief Commissioner for disregarding the rules of Comity among Missions. He was again given the same treatment by the Chief Commissioner of Burma for the very same thing. According to Pettigrew there was more reason for Mr. Roberts or his Mission to be called to account for allowing their workers and converts to practise methods inconsistent with the Mission Comity and Christian practice. If they were allowed under restrictions to occupy certain areas in Manipur, and if they did their best to follow out in spirit and in letter the resolutions and orders laid down by the Darbar, it seemed too much for Mr. Roberts to demand that his workers should not be considered as coming under restrictions laid down by the same authority and that they should be allowed to go where they pleased.

It was during July 1926, that Mr. Higgins wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin, Mawlaik, to furnish a report on the movement of Mr. Roberts and his intention of establishing a Mission station at Tamu. Now after a brief period of more than one year the Deputy Commissioner replied back to Mr. Higgins that he was emphatic against any penetration of missionary effort into Somra. The country was too far wild and unsettled the trouble would certainly result if any Mission entered there. The Deputy Commissioner also confessed that he would not be responsible if anything serious occurred. But as regards Thaungdut Tamu and Manipur borders there were much missionary efforts already going on. The Deputy Commissioner ordered those missionaries to leave Thaungdut by 15th December 1927. He had also refused permission to Mr. Roberts to settle in this District without a formal recognition of an authority superior to his.

In the last week of November 1927, Mr. B. C. Gasper, the Sub-Divisional Officer of the south west hills showed for the first time a list of villages evicted on account of trespassing from the allotted boundary of their concerned Missions. The following list of villages in this Sub-Division

in which forcible evictions were made, shows dates of orders to move, number of households turned out and number of houses pulled down. No houses were burnt, but 33 in all were pulled down when it was found that the men concerned were determined not to move until forced to do so. Mr. Gasper in his Memo. to the Political Agent wrote:

> I would not dream of interfering with the religious or superstitious beliefs of anyone—Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian or Animist. Also, as far as I know, no member of my staff has invited Kuki Christians to recant.[3]

Sl. No.	Name of Villages	Date of order to move	No. of households affected according to Lambus' Census	No. of households turned out	No. of houses pulled down
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Kangkap	22.4.25	11	on 16.12.25	—
2.	Vokbol Chengek	22.4.25	6	—	—
3.	Selbu	22.4.25	17	—	on 19.12.1925 (No. 19).
4.	Thingat	22.4.25	3	1	on 9.12.25 (No.1)
5.	Beheng Tuanthong	22.4.25	6	—	—
6.	Dampi	22.4.25	12	—	—
7.	Sempat Thangtinshen	27.4.25	6	—	—
8.	Gelmol Khunou	5.11.25	2	1	on 2.1.1926 (No. 1).
9.	Chongmun	30.4.25 & 23.2.26.	12	12	on 14.3.27 (No. 12)
10.	Longphailum	18.2.26	1	—	—

Remarks Columnwise

Column

1. Others migrated voluntarily after the Order.
2. Others migrated voluntarily after the Order.
3. Found two houses more than the Lambu originally counted.
4. Other two either migrated after the Order or recounted.
5. Same as Column 1.
6. Same as Column 1.

7. Institution of a case.
8. One house migrated.
9. Houses destroyed. Some men were allowed to return as they were born at Chongmun.
10. Not a Christian was found. Still at Longphailum.

Sd. B. C. Gasper,
S.D.O. South West Sub-Division,
28th November 1927.

When His Excellency the Governor of Assam visited Imphal during December 1927, he told Mr. Roberts that his behaviour is presistently disregarding the orders of Government and the Darbar, and his overstepping the allotted boundary was most objectionable. However, His Excellency had disapproved of those evictions which he wanted to put a stop to it. The Maharaja of Manipur also agreed that the simplest solution of the disputes between the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission could be found in the division of the whole of his hill territory between the two Missions. The Maharaja consented to the latter Mission being permitted to work in the south west sub-division and the American Baptist Mission in the other three sub-divisions. The Maharaja also complained that Christian villages had repeatedly failed to show him proper respect that was due and to help him in his journeys through the hills.

In one of his reports to the Political Agent, Pettigrew stated that they were doing Mission work among the unbroken chain of tribes from the Abors and Miris right down to the Chin Hills. As far as he could understand no other Societies were working among these tribes. Continuing the chain southwards, they run on in an unbroken chain right down below Rangoon upto the Moulmein Division of Burma. Pettigrew's contention was that, there should not be any attempt to break that chain and cut across the Anal Kuki section by any other Society whose church policies or practices were not in accord with the Baptist denomination in America. Personally he could not think of breaking that chain which was the only link that bounded their Mission in Assam with that of Burma. It might be considered as mere sentiment but under the conditions that had arisen during the past seven years in the south east

section of the Sadar area of Manipur he thought he was right in stating that something more deep than mere sentiment should be considered when dealing finally with this matter.

As per conversation between His Excellency the Governor of Assam and the Maharaja of Manipur copies of the Orders of the Governor of Assam passed in the matter of the sphere of influence between the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission respectively were forwarded to Pettigrew and Mr. Roberts for information. Mr. C. G. Crawford, the officiating Political Agent of Manipur requested the two missionaries to furnish a list of their accredited Pastors and Evangelists. The circumstances under which the Governor of Assam made up his own opinions regarding the sphere of influence and the list of the accredited Pastors and Evangelists were motivated by the following conditions.

According to His Excellency the Governor of Assam, he was disposed to revert to the Orders of 1915. As the sphere of influence was never in his opinion satisfactorily defined or enforced, the number of villages containing converts of the North East India General Mission had increased, and therefore, it was found necessary to recognise that its sphere should be extended. The Governor also thought that the action taken by the President of the Darbar to evict those Christians who were outside the sphere of influence as laid down in 1923, was too drastic. The fault of those Christians who declined to remove to the area set aside for the work of the North East India General Mission might be attributed more to the disregard of Orders by Pastors and Evangelists than to the converts. It was on this basis that the Governor of Assam ordered the State authorities of Manipur not to take up evictions in future.

There were obvious objections to the arrangement by which a Mission was recognised by the State and its pastors and evangelists were allowed to work, though in a definitely restricted area, while the *de facto* head of the Mission who presumably supplied the funds, was not allowed to enter the State, and in fact was not recognised by the State for the purpose of correspondence regarding the Mission. It could not be denied that the North East India General Mission

claimed some 5,000 converts. The Governor, therefore, wished, if it were possible to hand over these and the Mission activities to the American Baptist Mission. But the difficulty was that for more than ten years past the pastors and evangelists of the North East India General Mission were allowed to work in the State and that the conditions of the State were extremely difficult now to determine their activities. Even if boundaries were laid down, the past history of this Mission justified the fear that Mr. Roberts could not impress on his own converts the propriety of observing any such restrictions. Therefore, a possible solution for this Mission was to appoint some one--preferably a medical missionary--to be in charge of the spot. If this local representative obeyed the wishes of the State authorities and complied with such rules and restrictions as might be laid down by them, the local evangelists could receive the necessary supervision which was denied previously.

After discussing the matter with His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Political Agent, the Governor of Assam suggested that it was better to allow the North East India General Mission to work in the south west Sub-Division amongst the Kukis and to leave the rest of the hills to the American Baptist Mission, i.e., the north west, the Sadar hills and the north east Sub-Divisions. But no European missionaries other then Pettigrew and Dr. Crozier could work in the State without the sanction of the Manipur State Darbar. The Maharaja of Manipur accepted this proposal. Now the south-west Sub-Division would give Roberts' Mission ample scope for work. It too gave the Mission a wider scope for work and a more definite boundary. There was no hardship whatever in asking the Christians belonging to the North East India General Mission who resided in the other Sub-Divisions to move into the south west Sub-Division. The Sub-Divisional Officers could easily endeavour to see that the respective sphere of influence of the two Missions were properly respected.

The Governor of Assam told Mr. Roberts that if these converts wanted to reside in any portion of the State to which access by their pastors was prohibited, they should not

complain when they could not obtain the ministrations of their own evangelists. Further, should any pastor or evangelist of the Mission disobey an order prohibiting the work of proselytizing in any other parts of the State, they must not resent the enforcement of that order. In other words, the Mission had to abide by the restrictions imposed from time to time by the Manipur State Darbar. The Governor placed on record the boundaries of the Churachandpur Sub-Division. The area was bounded on the west and the south by the State border; the eastern boundary was the well defined natural line of the Manipur River; but the northern boundary was not capable of such accurate definition which was to approximate the Manipur bridle path. Though this boundary hold out possibilities of friction, no satisfactory natural boundary presented itself on the north.

It would be better, the Governor thought, if some arrangements were made by which the names of the accredited workers of these two Missions could be registered in the office of the Political Agent. In the event of transgression of the orders issued by the Darbar or of action on the part of a pastor or evangelist calculated to promote trouble, or in the event of any disregard of the areas of influence now suggested, his name was to be removed from the register and the evangelist would not be employed by the Mission. Some control of this kind was necessary. For example, the Maharaja of Manipur had already informed the Governor of Assam that on a tour through the hills some Kuki Christians had declined to comply with the usual village custom of giving assistance in erecting temporary dwellings and giving labour on the roads, on the plea that they were no longer subjects of the Manipur State but had become Christians. In the hill portion of the Manipur State no revenue was collected but only a house-tax which did not meet the cost of administration. However, it had always been the recognised practice that villagers would turn out to repair the bridle paths and act as porters for travellers. It was the system which was preferred by the tribes themselves and obviously Christian converts from the tribes had to perform their fair share of the task.[4]

The following Orders in connection with the revised

sphere of influence of the two Missions were issued on 20th March 1928, in accordance with the instructions of His Excellency the Governor. All previous Orders as to the boundaries of these Missions were cancelled:-

1. The boundaries of the North East India General Mission will in future coincide with the south west (Churachandpur Sub-Division) and the work of the Mission will be confined to the Kukis and Lushais of that Sub-Division.

2. The remainder of the Hill area in Manipur State will come under the influence of the American Baptist Mission.

3. All North East India General Mission Christians living outside the south west Sub-Division are warned that if they wish to receive the ministrations of their own Pastors or Evangelists, they must move back into the south west area. Any North East India General Mission Pastor or Evangelist found preaching or proselytising outside the south west Sub-Division will be prosecuted criminally for disobedience of Orders.

4. The Orders in 3 apply *mutatis mutandis* to the American Baptist Mission.

5. No further evictions of Christians with the object of causing them to return to the area of their own religious denomination, should they happen to be living outside it, will take place.

6. A register of accredited Pastors and Evangelists of each Mission will be maintained in the Political Agent's Office, and copies will be sent, as soon as these can be prepared to the President, M.S.D., and the S.D.O.s. Any serious misconduct on the part of these Pastors and Evangelists should be reported to the Political Agent with a view to the removal of the name of the offenders.

It was the intention of the Governor of Assam that the employed workers of the North East India General Mission should not any longer be permitted to work east of the Manipur River and that, if the converts of the Mission desired official relations with their Mission they should remove to the other side of the River. The Governor now permitted the American Baptist Mission to make tour in the areas opened to their work for the proper supervision of their converts namely in the south east where Pettigrew had previously been restricted to one very limited tour annually and in the region north of Imphal where he had not been permitted in recent years to tour. The American Baptist Mission greatly appreciated this privilege as because their converts and Schools in those two regions greatly needed such supervision.

The following list shows all workers under the control of the American Baptist Mission:

A. North East Area, Eastern Section : Manipur

1. Thisan - Superintending Pastor of all Churches in Eastern Section, North East Area, Ukhrul.
2. Yarho - Evangelist of Phungyo, Eastern Section.
3. Ungnaotui - Evangelist, ditto.
4. Ngashanphung - Pastor of Phungyo Church.
5. Yarriya - Pastor of Phungrim Church.
6. Ringshi - Pastor of Phungrei Church.
7. Haorei - Head Master of the Ukhrul Mission School.
8. Kanrei - Second Master, ditto.
9. Mingthing - Third Master, ditto.
10. Mahongai - Mistress of Mission's Girls' School, Phungyo.
11. Yangla - Head Master of Shangshak M. V. Central School.
12. Yarngai - Second Master, ditto.
13. Changkhareng - Master of Shiroi Mission Village School.
14. Shimreisa - Master of Phungrim Mission Village School.
15. Maringthei - Master of Pongba Mission Village School.
16. Luishar - Master of Ningchou Mission Village School.
17. Mara - Master of Karihang Mission Village School.

B. North West Area; Manipur

1. Helkhup - Superintending Pastor of Makui.
2. Mongkhohao - called Pakho of Sempang Teacher.
3. Sana of Yawle - Evangelist.
4. Lungkhohen of Uibuh - Teacher.
5. Hlunjzalam of Tamenglong - Pastor.
6. Talen of Makui (Thadou) - Teacher.
7. Munsci of Tw. Chong - Teacher.
8. Letpu of Haipi - Teacher.
9. Rongpao of Sempang Kabui Naga - Evangelist.

C. SADAR AREA: MANIPUR

1. A. Porom Singh—Superintending Pastor of Sadar Area.
2. Maipak—Assistant, S. A. ditto.
3. Diuthang—Teacher of Tongkoi.
4. Thangtong - Teacher & Leader of Makokching.
5. F'areng - ditto of Mapao.
6. Thoma - ditto of Liva Khunou.
7. Thumchung - Teacher of Chandel.
8. Kothi - Teacher & Leader of Khubung Khulen.
9. Runhem - ditto.
10. Mono - ditto of Toupokpi.

D. NORTH EAST AREA, WESTERN SECTION: MANIPUR

1. Reichumhao—Superintending Pastor of Somdal.
2. Ninghei - Teacher & Head Master of Somdal Central School.
3. Mashangthei - Teacher ditto.
4. Mingmayang - Teacher ditto.
5. Khashim - Teacher ditto.
6. Yiri - Evangelist ditto.
7. Lungthuk - Teacher of Phatang.
8. Ngapai-hui - Evangelist, Phatang.
9. Haishui - Teacher of Lamlang.
10. Nasha - Teacher of Ishmeal.
11. Tareng - Teacher of Ishmeal.
12. Luikai - Assistant Teacher, Phungton.
13. Ngachekehing - Pastor of Phungton.
14. Haokhulet - Pastor of Khukon.
15. Suisa - Pastor of Huime.
16. Ngareohung - Pastor of Khongairin.
17. Thimakan - Evangelist of Khongairin.
18. Yartong - Pastor of Chingjaroi.

The following list of Pastors, Evangelists, Teachers and Compounders belonged to the North East India General

Mission and they were all employed within the south west area of Manipur and approximately, as far as the bridle path at Bishenpur, thence the main road to Churachandpur.

1. Lalnghinglova
2. Vanchhunga
3. Pauva
4. Taisena
5. Kunga
6. Raltawna[5]
7. Khuma
8. Thangchhingpuia
9. Thangzakhupa
10. Rauchhuma
11. Thanglera
12. Lunkhawpauna
13. Dawnthawma
14. Sawia
15. Liansuma
16. Khaivunga
17. Hrangchhuaka
18. Chawnga
19. Thangvanga
20. Taitea
21. Hemtawnga
22. Laibata
23. Kapua
24. Khuanga
25. Deka
26. Thangzama
27. Vungkhawthanga
28. Savawma
29. Thangkaia
30. Luathanga
31. Thuanluma
32. Thangngura
33. Kapa
34. Thuama
35. Henpua
36. Liantinkaia
37. Lamgina
38. Hrangkhuma
39. Chawnga
40. Kapphunga
41. Mangthanga
42. Bawia
43. Vaitlaia
44. Sialthanga
45. Taitea
46. Thangvunga
47. Liankeuvunga
48. Liansangvunga
49. Thangtinlela
50. Tuathanga
51. Khuppuma
52. Mangdala
53. Luaia
54. Vungtuala
55. Vungdala
56. Kunga
57. Kamkhawgina
58. Tesena
59. Rova
60. Zawna
61. Thangkhaia

In addition to the above list there were also a fairly large number of unpaid workers over whose activities the Mission did not control.

REFERENCES

1. Letter from J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam, Shillong, dated Imphal, 4th July 1927.
2. Letter from Rev. Wm. Pettigrew, Kangpokpi to Rev. Clarence E. Chaney, Field Secretary of the Burma Mission at Rangoon, dated 17th October 1927.
3. Memo No. 537-M/2 from B. C. Gasper, S.D.O., South West Sub-Division to the Political Agent of Manipur, through the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated Churachandpur, 28th November 1927.
4. See Extract from the *Note* regarding Missions in Manipur State by His Excellency the Governor of Assam, dated December 1927.
5. Watkin R. Roberts spelt every name as 'aw' in place of 'O', i.e., *Raltona* was spelt as *Raltwana*.

EIGHTEEN

Mr. Roberts and His Severance with the North East India General Mission

Mr. J. P. Mills, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar noted in one of his tour diaries of 19th March 1928, as follows:-

> At Lakhipur I was visited by Mr. Rostad, a new American missionary, just posted to Lakhipur by the North East India General Mission. He saw Mr. Watkin Roberts in Calcutta and had Dohnuna with him here. It is significant that neither of them had mentioned to Mr. Rostad that there had been any trouble over the activities of their Mission in Manipur State, or that those activities had been in any way restricted. In fact Dohnuna was already planning an evangelising tour in the State with him without giving him the least hint that any permission was required before entering the State. A few pertinent questions from me made Dohnuna wriggle, and I think Mr. Rostad will accept his statements with caution in future.[1]

Already in January 1927, Dohnuna had submitted a report to the Political Agent of Manipur about some Roman Catholic workers who forcibly settled in Tinsong and Senvong. From that time onwards Dohnuna and Mr. Roberts anticipated trouble and conflict with the new settlers who came to Manipur with a view to work on the Roman Catholic Church in the south west hills of Manipur. On behalf of these three Lushai Roman Catholic families who came from Kelsih near Aijal, Mr. Roberts suggested to the acting Political Agent of Manipur that if these people were allowed to stay in the State, they might be given land in some other section to avoid any possibility of friction later on. These three men actually came from the Lushai Hills to settle in the Saikot village and they were confirmed to be Roman Catholics. Their names were Tea, Ora and Vanthuama. They stated before the Sub-Divisional Officer on 2nd May 1928, that they and their families were Roman Catholics having been converted from the Welsh Presbyterianism on 25th October 1925. They were not evangelists. In Tea's house there were his wife and

daughter of two years; in Ora's house, his sister of 15 and his wife; in Vanthuama's, his wife and two little children.

Mr. Gasper did not consider it necessary to take these people with him to Imphal. But if the President of the Darbar or the Political Agent wished to see them, the S.D.O. said he could send for them quite easily. During May 1928, these Roman Catholics were busy on their valley cultivation. There was no Roman Catholic chapel at Saikot, so they used to meet at Ora's house and they were unwilling to join any other Church. The Political Agent made an enquiry to Mr. Roberts that if his suggestion amounted to a request to have these Roman Catholics moved into the American Baptist Mission area. Disclaiming any such intention, Mr. Roberts explained that if they were permitted to settle in Manipur at all which he personally considered inadvisable, he thought that land might be found for them 'somewhere within the Sadar area-but beyond the Manipur Bridle-Path'. This last sentence brought confusion in its meaning to the State authorities of Manipur. Because the orders of Government on the subject of eviction of the Christians were very clear, and Mr. Crawford expressed a surprise when Mr. Roberts suggested the eviction of the Roman Catholics considering his recent attitude towards the eviction of converts belonging to the North East India General Mission.

Defending his insecure position, Mr. Roberts said that he never intended to suggest the eviction of the Roman Catholic settlers, but that permits to settle might only be given to them on the condition that these people did not live within the areas already occupied by the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission. During his conversion with the Governor of Assam in last December 1927, Mr. Roberts gathered that His Excellency had strongly objected to Roman Catholics entering the State at all and in this context he now requested to secure His Excellency's ruling on this question only to prevent possibilities of trouble in future.

After the settlement of the first three Roman Catholics, not one of the Lushai workers or settlers of the North East India General Mission ever applied for a permit to settle or work either personally or through Mr. Roberts. He wrote to

the officiating Political Agent objecting to the order which mentioned that criminal proceedings would be instituted against pastors and evangelists of the two Missions if found working outside their respective boundaries. According to his argument the orders of Government only provided for the removal of their names from the Register and because the hint of criminal proceedings against any Christian workers for the simple sin of preaching the Gospel, would be strongly resented by their Home Councils. Mr. Crawford was at a loss to understand Mr. Roberts' wishes regarding the eviction of the three Lushai Roman Catholics and thus he declined to take any further steps. The Government Order to which Mr. Roberts referred to, was in addition to providing for the removal of a Mission worker's name from the Register for misconduct, and also that 'should any pastor or evangelist disobey an Order prohibiting the work of proselytizing in any parts of the State, they must not resent the enforcement of that Order'. The only means of enforcing such orders were by the sanction of law.

In December 1928, Mr. Higgins came back from leave and he took up charge of the Political Agent. He narrated all the circumstances regarding the three Lushai Roman Catholics to the Chief Secratary to the Government of Assam. According to him if a Roman Catholic community was admitted to grow up in the hills the existing difficulties would be enormously complicated, and he proposed therefore, issuing instructions to the President of the Darbar, a draft to the Chief Secretary for an approval of His Excellency the Governor of Assam who immediately gave his consent on 7th January 1929.

The invasion of the Manipur hills by a second Mission had led to nearly twenty years of continued friction not only between the second Mission and the State authorities, but also between the authorities and converts of the two Missions themselves. The immigration of the Roman Catholics though they might profess not to be active evangelists, would therefore result in a gradual increases of the Roman Catholic community by a process of peaceful penetration. Outcasts from the established Missions and persons who were dissatisfied with the ministration or

control of their pastors were liable to profess themselves to be Roman Catholics. Eventually the State authorities of Manipur would have to face with demands from the Roman Catholic missionaries for permission to minister their converts among the three warring sects instead of the American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission only.

Mr. Higgins suggested that any further immigration of Roman Catholics from the Lushai Hills should be prevented. The Governor's orders on the subject of evictions were never intended to compel the Manipur State to acquiesce in unrestricted immigration from the Lushai Hills. Giving instructions to the Sub-Divisional Officer that in future Roman Catholic immigrants from the Lushai Hills were not to be allowed to settle in the Manipur hills, Mr. Higgins asked the resident pastors of the North East India General Mission to co-operate in bringing cases of immigration by Roman Catholics to the notice of the Sub-Divisional Officer. But in case of Tea, Ora and Vanthuama, whose settlement in Saikot had been acquiesced in, they were allowed to remain there provided they did no active proselytizing.[2] After a reference to Government, the Political Agent of Manipur now passed an Order during January 1929, stating that in future no Roman Catholic immigrants form the Lushai Hills would be permitted to settle in Manipur.

During the absence of Pettigrew who went on furlough in March 1928, Dr. Crozier made a request to the Political Agent for a permission to allow one Miss May Stevenson to reside at Kangpokpi. Mr. Higgins forwarded the request to the Darbar for consideration and on 20th February 1929, they resolved that as a temporary arrangement Miss Stevenson was permitted to stay at Kangpokpi to assist Mrs. Crozier for one year only. But it was clearly understood that she could not be accepted as a permanent addition to the Kangpokpi Mission staff.[3]

In the same month Mr. Higgins arranged a personal meeting with Messers. Williams (Secretary), Coleman (American Secretary) and Dr. Turneday (Council Member) of the North East India General Mission and Dr. Crozier of the American Baptist Mission. Members of the previous Mission

assured the Political Agent that Mr. Roberts had no further connection with the Manipur Branch of the Mission. The circumstances which perhaps led to this serious twisting against Mr. Roberts were narrated to Mr. Higgins later on. The members made an immediate enquiry as to the possibililty of posting a European missionary at Churachandpur or elsewhere in the Mission area. Mr. Higgins pointed out that he had no power to grant permission and the correct course would be an approach to His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar. He even promised to support the request if sent through him. The Director of the Mission accordingly applied to His Highness the Maharaja requesting for a European missionary Doctor in their area. On 5th March 1929, the Maharaja forwarded the request to the Darbar for consideration. It was not actually the wish of the Darbar that the State subjects should embrace Christianity which was not the religion of he Manipur State, and therefore, the request of the North East India General Mission to stimulate interest in the Christian religion by deputation of a resident missionary was not immediately granted.[4] The Maharaja however disapproved the resolution and he used his overruling power to veto the Darbar in favour of the Mission. It was the first time on the part of the Mission to receive a favourable consideration from the Maharaja of Manipur who wrote the following reasons for vetoing the Darbar resolution No. 3 of 23rd March 1929.

As the North East India General Mission had several thousand converts in the south west Sub-Division of the Manipur hills, the Mission could be permitted to work in that area. There was also a considerable number of Lushai and Kuki evangelists and pastors already engaged in the Sub-Division, to say nothing of the School Masters and Compounders. Although it was probable that a time would eventually arrive when the Mission workers become competent to carry on the work of their Church without the supervision of a European missionary, His Highness considered it desirable that such supervision should be exercised for the time being. The Maharaja therefore, ordered that the North East India General Mission should be permitted to send in a European missionary Doctor to take

up his residence in the south west Sub-Division of the Manipur hills, but at some place approved by the President of the Darbar, on the following conditions:

1. that he should possess a medical degree,
2. that, if he failed to control his mission workers and converts and to prevent them from clashing with the workers and converts of the American Baptist Mission, the permission granted would be liable to be revoked.

Maharaja Chura Chand Singh wrote in a paragraph of his Order:

> The Darbar should understand that, in vetoing their Resolution I am actuated by no desire to spread Christianity in the hills, but by the necessity for supervising and controlling the activites of the Lushai and Kuki workers of the Mission, and the desirability of improving medical facilities in the hills.[5]

During August 1929, Dr. Crozier furnished a second report on the Kangpokpi Leper Settlement which contained many valuable information regarding the construction works of the Colony and other various improvement programmes. The following figures tally with the original report of Dr. Crozier:

Financial Statement for the Year Ending 30th April 1929

Receipts		
State Grant-in-Aid	...	Rs. 2492-4-0
From Mission to Lepers	...	Rs. 881-13-3
From Friends in U.S.A.	...	Rs. 281-3-0
From sale of rice grown in the Colony	...	Rs. 3-0-0
Total Rs.		3657-20-3
Expenditure		
For support of Lepers	...	Rs. 2302-13-3
Salary of local Overseer	...	Rs. 180-0-0
$^1/_4$th salary of Medical Assistant	...	Rs. 120-0-0
Cost of general medicines and soap	...	Rs. 697-8-3
Compound fence and playground	...	Rs. 113-5-0
School Teacher and books	...	Rs. 42-12-0
Christmas expenses	...	Rs. 48-0-0
Milk Rs. 72-9-9 & Bedding Rs. 81-4-0	...	Rs. 153-13-9
Total Rs.		3655-51-15

Construction Work		
From Mission to Lepers	...	Rs. 1698-4-9
Cost of Cottage No. 1 completed	...	Rs. 1698-4-9
From American Branch of the Mission to Lepers	...	Rs. 2730-0-0
Cottage No.2, treatment Building and Compounder's house under construction		
Besides the sum earmarked for buildings, there was at the close of the year a cash balance in hand	...	Rs. 254-3-9
Received in May on the New Year	...	Rs. 360-2-4
Total in hand at the beginning of the year 1929 for working expenses	...	Rs. 614-6-1

The specific medicines for the lepers were still supplied free by Dr. Muir, Leper Specialist of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. There were at the close of the year 101 persons in the Colony including 13 wives who were not lepers; 21 non-leprous children, and 77 patients. 83 patients were there in the middle of July. Among the 77 patients five were under the age of 16 years and they represented eight races. Ten cases were discharged as probably cured. Eight people were baptised during the year and seven more in June 1929. There were 50 Christians in the Colony.

Dohnuna of the North East India General Mission requested the Political Agent of Manipur for a permission to visit the Presbytery meeting at Senvong during September 1929. This permission was, without trouble, granted to Dohnuna. But immediately the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar intimated Mr. Higgins that, Mr. Roberts, Dohnuna and his son Thanglura had already been dismissed by their Mission. This confirmed the news of February 1929, when the Political Agent met Messrs. Williams, Coleman and Dr. Turneday who assured that Mr. Roberts had no further connection with the Manipur Branch of the Mission. Changes that took place in the past few months and the circumstances which led to the dismissal of some of the important officials of the North East India General Mission were as follows.

In the early part of 1929, a Deputation party from

England and America came to India to see the work of this Mission on the field. As a result of their visit Mr. Roberts the then Field Director had resigned from the Mission in February 1929. Later he ignored his resignation and tried to carry on the work of the Mission. However, after the report of the Deputation party was read to the members of the Council in London, they unanimously agreed to make the following changes, namely - the Office in Calcutta would be closed; Mr. Roberts and Mr. Testro, the Field Treasurer would be dismissed from 1st July 1929; Mr. H. H. Coleman of Philadelphia would be appointed acting General Secretary and Mrs. Ella Rostad (wife of Rev. Paul Rostad) would be appointed Field Treasurer. Later on the American Council in Philadelphia also unanimously approved these changes.

Mr. Roberts did not recognise the orders of the Home Councils, and therefore, he still continued to give orders to the workers on the Field. He told Mrs. Ella Rostad that she should not have accepted the office of Treasurer without consulting him first. But Rev. Paul Rostad said that since they were sent out by the American Council they had to abide by their decision. This displeased Mr. Roberts very much, and on 14th August 1929, while the Rostads were in Calcutta he sent them a letter:

> We could not very well allow you to return to the Mission Bungalow accept on the clear understanding that you desired to remain under my direction in the Mission.[6]

On 11th September 1929, Mr. Roberts again wrote to the Rostads while they were at Ranchi:

> We cannot allow you, under the present circumstances to return to the Mission Bungalow. Please let me know what you would like to do with your things. We will have everything packed away in one room for the present, and if no one else resides in the Bungalow, we will have a Police Chowkidar to guard the place.[7]

Upon receipt of this letter the Rostads made an approach to Mr. Walker, the Deputy Commissioner at Silchar requesting him to protect their goods. This he kindly did and since 23rd September 1929, the Rostads were in the Bungalow. After this event Mr. Roberts who called to see the Deputy Commissioner on 19th September wrote to the Rostads again:

> I explained to the Deputy Commissioner that we had no objection for you to stay in the Bungalow provided you would not interfere with the administration of our work on the Hills, and also provided you would not disturb Pastor Dohnuna's tenancy in the Compound.[8]

Dohnuna did not co-operate with the Rostads and he continued to take orders from Mr. Roberts. He was therefore, dismissed on 31st August 1929, with instructions to turn over possession of Compound and all records to Rev. Paul Rostad. Mr. Coleman in the meantime informed Rev. Paul Rostad to take up charge of the Field until he arrived in India. Upto 10th October 1929, Dohnuna had remained silent, so the Rostads wrote him asking whether he intended to obey the orders given. Dohnuna defiantly replied that he would not give up possession of the Compound unless Mr. Roberts asked him to do so. When the Rostads notified the Deputy Commissioner he wrote to Dohnuna:

> You have to-day admitted before me that the North East India General Mission dismissed you as from 31st August 1929. You are, therefore, to vacate the land held in the name of the Mission, and to make over to the Mission the property including papers which belong to it. On your doing so you will be paid all sums due you from the North East India General Mission.[9]

After Dohnuna left the Mission Compound he rented a piece of land adjacent to it. He tried to get as many of the workers who belonged to the North East India General Mission and the School boys to form a new Mission. He also spread out many false reports to the Field stating that Mr. Roberts was sending the Rostads back to America and Mr. H. H. Coleman would not come to India etc. After his dismissal, on 3rd October 1929, Dohnuna held a Presbytery meeting at Senvong. In this meeting some of the workers who were loyal to the Mission were dismissed and others appointed to take their places. He appointed his own son Thanglura to be the Field Superintendent at Tinsong only to disorganise the work of the Mission. On the other hand, some members of the Mission had dismissed Mr. Lalnhinglova of Pherjol the then Field Superintendent since he would not co-operate with the Rostads accept through Dohnuna. In his place the Mission appointed a Committee of three men, namely--Savoma, Thangngura and Kunga--all of Tinsong to act as Field Superintendent until 15th January 1930, when the next Presbytery meeting was expected to be held with Mr. Coleman in the chair.

In spite of all the orders from the Home Council as well as the wide publicity of his dismissal from the Mission, Mr. Roberts still defiantly tried to get hold of an authority over his field administration. On 24th October 1929, he wrote to P. J. Testro at Calcutta:

> Will you please inform Mr. Higgins that any promise made by Messrs. J. C. Williams, H. H. Coleman and Dr. Turneday were entirely unauthorised. Indeed, I have requested Mr. J. C. Williams' resignation since then, and he is no longer connected with the work.
>
> The Home Councils have no authority vested in them to deal with Field Administration. During my absence from India - at any time - all official correpondence should please be addressed to you as my legal Attorney, as per the G. Power given to you on March 22nd, 1922, through Messrs. Morgan and Co., of this city.
>
> The information given to Mr. Higgins by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar is incorrect. I have certainly not dismissed Pastor H. K. Dohnuna, and no one else has any authority to do so.[10]

In the last part of October 1929, Mr. Higgins paid a visit at the Lakhipur Mission Bungalow and there he met Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad who showed him letters confiming the fact that the London Council had dismissed Mr. Roberts and Testro and Dohnuna. The Council further vested them with control pending the arrival of the new Secretary, Mr. Coleman. They also proved that the American Council supported the London Council and that they were receiving funds from Home.

Mr. Roberts instilled a regular Bolshevistic spirit in the minds of some of the workers and as a result they did not show proper respect to Government and to those in authority. He was using Dohnuna and his son Thanglura to work against the authorities of the Mission. The Rostads therefore, requested the Political Agent of Manipur to compel Mr. Roberts to leave the Manipur hills and go back to Lakhipur where he resided.[11]

During September 1929, Dr. Crozier lodged a petition to the Political Agent of Manipur. This application actually elicited a long and hot-heated discussion among the State authorities. Because it mainly affected most of the hill tribes in Manipur, who willingly or out of monetary benefits were allowed to convert themselves into Christianity. Referring to the subject as a 'serious miscarriage of justice', Dr. Crozier who as a member of a great body of men and women engaged

in the reconstruction of society on a civilised basis, of bringing savages into obedience to law, and of bringing peace among nations and in the hearts of men, begged for the permission to call attention to what seemed to him a 'serious defect in the administration of the hills of the Manipur State', namely--the application of the old pagan customs to the Christian community.

In obedience to that custom, children born to Christian parents and others who were converted to Christianity, were often after the death of their parents being forced back into the power and custody of pagan relatives. But it seemed eminently unjust and untrue to the spirit of civilised Governments to force the Christians into paganism. By no force or human power could pagans be constrained to become Christians--it was a voluntary act of the will. To force a girl to leave the Christian community and thus come under the power of her pagan relatives was of necessity tantamount to forcing them back into the customs of the pagans. This, of course, seemed contrary to the customs and spirit of civilised Governments; and it certainly was contrary to the highest goodness of the people in the sight of God and man.

At one time Mr. Lane ruled in Assam that – once a Christian was always a Christian; and that, therefore, a Christian could not be married by non-Christian customs, and a Christian could only become a non-Christian by an act comparable to the act by which he became a Christian by going before representative people of the other faith or custm and openly declaring that he renounced his Christian faith with all that went with it and definitely adopted the faith and custom of those there assembled as witnesses and representatives. Judgements in harmony with this decision had removed some of the court cases relating to *mangkat*, and it thus privileged to some real extent the object of Dr. Crozier's petition--that, Christians could not be forced against their will into marriage with non-Christians and to live within the pagan regulations and practices.

Mr. Duncan, the Sub-Divisional Officer, was of opinion that children below the teen-age group should not be baptised without a consent of the parent or guardian. But after attaining that age they might be considered competent

to make their own choice as regards the question of marriage. Dr. Crozier pleaded that the British Christian Government laws could without any harm apply to the Christian community in such vital matters. He just cited a painful case to support his pleading.

Two girls who were brought up in a Christian Home attending at the Kangpokpi Mission School, were being forced by Government Order in harmony with pagan custom to return to the pagan life and become wives of pagan men (presumably) or virtual slaves of the pagan brother of the deceased father. This brother came to Dr. Crozier on September 9th 1929, half-drunk with two other non-Christian men who were even of another race. Dr. Crozier expressed his frantic disappointment on the Government regulations which sanctioned giving out girls from the Christian Homes and Schools into the hands of such men. It was impossible on the part of Dr. Crozier to deliver a 14 year old Christian School girl into the hands of a half-drunken relative and two men of another race who looked like toughs. Regarding the second sister who was a Christian girl of 12 years only, it seemed too cruel and brutal an act for Dr. Crozier to do anything until he was actually compelled by a direct order of the Government.

As a matter of fact, the two girls and their father were all Christians. He wanted his daughters to bring up in the Christian life and give a Christian education. Dr. Crozier supported the radical belief that a Christian father should have the right to entail an obligation on his wife and children that would be honoured by a civilised Government. But Mr. Shaw, the Sub-Divisional Officer was of opinion that they had no such rights though he constantly recognised that right on the part of the pagans. Through a sincere request of the father, his two daughters--Kimkhoneng and Tongneng had been put in the Mission School at Kangpokpi, and by their own choice and request in the presence of their mother they were baptized on the 27th May 1928.

The father was one of Dr. Crozier's lepers at the Kangpokpi Leper Colony and he had already been baptized on 16th May 1920, together with his wife when the two daughters were small at the time. These girls positively

declared their unwillingness to go with their pagan uncle and they also confessed that they did not want to give up their faith. According to their version, if their uncle wanted them why he did not take them when their mother was supporting him for one year after their father had died on 1922, and why he had done nothing to show any interest in them till nearing time for their marriage? This uncle had refused to marry the mother in harmony with Kuki custom, and instead he lived entirely on her support for one complete year and stole some of her goods when he left. The mother and her two daughters were on an entire support of the Mission ever since the uncle left. Dr. Crozier boldly wrote to the Political Agent:

> We dread to put in a counter claim for support, for it would seem like selling Christian girls as cattle into a life of sorrow and wretchedness in the pagan life. And we hesitate to offer to pay to the uncle a reasonable *mangkat* price to secure their freedom, for it would be recognizing the claim of a pagan virtually forcing Christians against their will out of the Christian faith into the pagan life, though we would as a last resort make the payment rather than see the girls go back into the pagan life with that man, but would not like the precedent it would establish.[12]

From Dr. Crozier's petition two important points were mainly discussed for a judicial interpretation by the State authorities of Manipur. The vital issues were,– whether a Kuki woman converted to the Christian faith could be compelled by the law in Manipur to submit to the custom of her original tribe, or in default, suffer any penalty demanded by the law of tribal custom. Whether at any stage, could children of such a union, namely, that of a Kuki woman and a man who became Christian, be compelled by law on the death of the father, to return to the custody of the proper guardian in accordance with the dictates of the tribal customs. Or, whether they could successfully claim the advantages of the prerogative of civilised law, or in default, of this relief, pay a tribute or penalty in liquidation of any tribal demands that were offensive to the Christian faith.

Issue No. 1. It might be assumed that the woman was a [Kuki] and non-Christian married to a Kuki from her father's house. The Kuki was allowed by the father of the woman to take her as wife on the understanding that he would pay to her family a marriage price. If they turned

Christian the man had to continue to pay for the girl. This was actually enforced by law and was still feasible; but the trouble was that, on the death of the husband his animist relations demanded the right of *habeas corpus* over the Christian woman and her children, a right to which the Christian woman and her children must submit, and which would not be abandoned by the late husband's relations because he had paid the price of the woman's body and was further responsible for any outstanding marriage price.

The woman could evade the full force of the right of *habeas corpus* by defaulting in custom and paying the tribal price and the law would enforce civilly only the repayment of the original marriage price. In the circumstances, the woman who in order to preserve her Christian notions of virtue, was compelled to thrust on her father or his male heirs the responsibility for the repayment of all the price paid for her. The only fault she had committed was to defy a pagan custom with which she could not possibly comply with. The effect of this was an antidote to conversion to Christianity because all the woman's responsible male members would try to persuade her not to turn Christian. The merits of this influence did not concern the administration. But Dr. Crozier claimed that the Christian woman would not have to pay a penalty for her non-compliance with a custom which she could not possibly follow. Mr. A. G. McCall, President of the Manipur State Darbar was of opinion that this contention was difficult to defeat even if it were desirable. However, if it were thought necessary to change the existing custom it might be possible in the case of such women to arrange that the deceased husband's relations did not accept responsibility for the full payment of the arranged *mangkat* unless she complied with custom. In such a case the only loss would be the girl's father.

If the girl's father did really lose, it could mean that he should not have been so greedy in fixing a high price originally; and secondly, he had to accept responsibility for allowing the son-in-law some time in which to pay up the price of the girl. The Christian husband could not possibly evade full payment of marriage price which was his term of a contract definitely made with the father-in-law when all

parties were animists and when the marriage was effected. However, if his real relations were relieved from full payment of outstanding marriage price, i.e., the *mangkat*, it seemed that they could not claim the body of the woman. Even, this was not a very apt solution, because it was not impossible that the husband's family was interested in his marriage and its terms when it was affected. Dr. Crozier therefore, did not like to suggest such a proposal very definitely as when one was proposing changes of custom one was inclined to base these with reference to civilised law and administrative interest neither of which were entirely paramount over the tribal laws of ages.

If the woman was a Christian before her marriage and if she married a Christian with no *mangkat*, it was clearly understood that the non-Christian male heir of the woman's husband had no claim over the Christian woman at her husband's death. But in the case of the children the right of *habeas corpus* could not be easily extinguished and the Manipur Administration directed the forcible handing over of any children once fully weaned and claimed. Sometimes the demand was made when the children were too young and sometimes when older and of marriageable age.

The mother was, in default of her submitting to live as a wife with her deceased husband's brother, compelled to give up her children. But if the mother was a Christian she could claim her children to be Christians. She could easily evade the tribal demands if she agreed to live as a wife with her animist brother-in-law by default of which threw a heavy civil liability on her guiltless father because she had turned Christian with her husband after marriage. But the Christian woman had to comit a breach of faith which would cause ostracization from her society by living with her brother-in-law, or had to abandon her children by order of law. Even as a tribal custom, the practice that compelled a woman to give up her children because she would not live with her brother-in-law, was brutal and against the law of nature as well as the generally accepted views of civilisation.

It was difficult to recommend that Government would continue to compel the Christian mother to give up her children in such circumstances. Yet if this was not enforced

the tribal customs were set at nought. The payment of any *mangkat* in default admitted the right of the tribe to claim the children of a woman of the male concerned. If the children were of a Christian union, it was still surprising how the Government could very well continue to support a policy that seized the children.

Issue No. 2. A Kuki by embracing the Christian religion could retain his nationality but had to abandon the customs that permitted to his former animist faith. He could not claim by his original tribal custom as well as the Christian claims, an immunity from his tribal liabilities. A Christian Kuki was prevented from the full determination of his entity if he were compelled by law to comply with the dictates of the tribal customs of the clan of his birth where such customs were in direct conflict with Christian ideas. Thus in fact, he was thereby prevented by law from being a true Christian. The question was, whether he was to be allowed to claim this exemption from tribal liability except in specific cases where he had himself been a party to the contract. In cases where he had not been a part to an arrangement it was possibly for him to obtain from the law of the land dispensation and the right to follow his Christian religion free from demands which were based on tribal and animistic customs. If this was not so, then it meant that once born a Kuki an escape to the refuge and freedom afforded by Christianity was unattainable.

Under Rule No. 7 of the *Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur* it was clearly indicated as follows:

> The President and his assistants shall dispose of all suits to which a member of the hill tribes dependent on the Manipur State or a native of the Naga, Lushai, or Chin Hills, or a member of the hill tribes of the Cachar District is a party, except those which arise within the British Reserve. They shall be guided as far as possible by the tribal customs, and if both parties agree cases may be settled by oath or in any other manner recognised by the tribe concerned.[13]

In the case under reference, the law of the tribe clashed with that of civilised law. The question to decide was whether in the interest of civilised justice the Administration was prepared to set aside animist tribal claims in favour of the dictates of civilised law. And if so, upto what extent the Administration was prepared to set aside tribal claims in favour of such civilised dictates. The basis of the tribal

custom which had now given rise to the conflicting claims was that of the buying and selling of women in marriage. This was inseparable from slavery. It was on this basis of the commercial value of a woman and the potential value of a man that claimed to the exercise of *habeas corpus* made by the tribes. Since the Government of India supported the League of Nations in recognition that slavery should be abolished, the Manipur State Darbar too had adopted this principle.

A Magisterial Court exceeded its rights and powers when it declined to permit the enforcement of paganistic demands, because these had always conflicts with Christian sentiment and custom. Thus it was recognised that Christianity would allow immunity from submission to pagan demands. On the grounds of civilisation the Manipur Administration had in the past declined to admit what were to the civilised mind, malpractices. It was for the Administration now to decide whether the buying and selling of women-in-marriage had to be done away with or not. But the effect of the enforcement of such a reform on the Kuki tribe would be far reaching and it was not possible that it would lead to an active disaffection.

The problem was of no mean proportion and thus the State authorities of Manipur considered to leave the main issues undecided at the outset. If it were not for the Christian element within the tribes, the State officials would without misgivings be of opinion that the tribes had in no way reached a stage of development that justified any such reform. The highest and most advanced notions of Christian civilisation were being brought to bear with reference to a tribe that normally reached a stage of development. On the other hand, the claims of the Christians were based on ideas that did not actually conform to those of the tribe, but were the forced ideas borrowed from an advanced civilisation. The result was bound to be conflict.

The contention made by Dr. Crozier was in some ways rather out of place and extravagant in consideration of the history of the tribes within the last half century. And further that, as an individual contention it was non-representative and therefore, very dangerous to a peaceful administration.

Yet it had raised an issue, the effect of which to itself was sure to lead to misgiving. One could not prevent the challenge, and therefore, the President of the Manipur State Darbar treated the contention as definitely made, and which if not admitted by the State, he considered to pursue the matter through an international channel if necessary.

What was tolerated by the North East India General Mission did not seem to be tolerated by Dr. Crozier. In the previous Mission their converts were permitted to drink *yu*, a countrymade liquor of Manipur. And no such contention as the present one had been made by any converts of the North East India General Mission, because they accepted that any tribal custom could apply to their Christian converts. Dr. Crozier based his contention on the grounds of humanity or rather on the western ideas of civilisation, while the people on whose behalf the contention was made did not as a whole, feel undue mortification. In the North East India General Mission the *mangkat* was still paid quite happily. If this was entirely done away with by an act of law the effect would probably be to encourage Christianity as the young men would find themselves free from the discipline and contract to which they were subject, owing chiefly to the results of the *mangkat* system. Mr. McCall was of opinion that any such change in the *mangkat* system would strike at the root of the whole society and also it would break up the clan foundation. Even if a serious step of doing away with the system were taken up it was nearly certain that the practice would not be abandoned by the tribes. Mr. McCall, therefore sent out to the Sub-Divisional Officers for a full consideration of the possibilities of the Chiefs agreeing to accept a scale of money in lieu of the existing claim of *habeas corpus*. He was rather inclined to believe that this would not prove an acceptable solution to the Chiefs and even if acceptable, it was not impossible that the scale demanded would be prohibitive.

Giving a brief resume on the specific points that arose from the above discussion, Mr. McCall set out some suggestions in the following manner:

1. It was essential to change the admixture between Christian and non-Christian into a complete segregation. All reforms should aim at furthering segregation of the two

communities, as beacause an attempt to administer Christian Kuki and animist Kukis by similar customs was completely hopeless.

2. No Christian should be permitted to incur a union with a non-Christian; and no Christian union should be recognised by the Court unless the authority of the Court was given. No penalty was necessary beyond non-jurisdiction by the Court for purpose of a decision of disputes.

3. No one should be considered a Christian unless registered in the Court under specific conditions in accordance with rules to be laid down when necessary.

4. A married Kuki who turned Christian after marriage would remain liable for the payment of marriage price to the animist father-in-law until the son-in-law's death only when the claim would be extinguished entirely. Thus the deceased male relations having no liabilities had no claims. In this case, the father-in-law would undoubtedly lose because the payments of *mangkat* were always delayed and thus it would act as a stimulant to the animist to turn Christian to delay in the payments and then to die free. The only antidote to this was a constant care on the part of the father-in-law to show at the Court how and when to realise the available dues. This would cause laziness in the Christian son-in-law who might feel happier to be poor but idle. It was also proposed to absolve male children of the deceased father because this was unfair to subject them to the liability incurred by their father long before when in many cases, the claim if admitted and paid, would be enjoyed by the said father-in-law's descendants. In the interest of affecting segregation of the two communities it was proposed to absolve the heir even though it might be a little generous.

It was more than likely that many cases would arise through claim of a convert's animist relations that they had assisted in the payment of some of the marriage expenses and price of the deceased convert at the time when the convert had contracted the marriage, i.e., while he was still an animist. But it was next to impossible to decide whether any payments made where by the deceased or by his relatives. It could however, be made a law that payments

made by a Kuki to his father-in-law would be considered only as payments made by him and no one else. This would check litigation and the practice of families paying towards the marriage price.

5. There was no solution to the difficulty of the children of Christian parents. On the father's death it was desired to avoid them being handed over to the animist relations by force of law. If the procedure in the above mentioned No. 4 was enforceable then the male relation of the deceased father had no liability to the father-in-law, and hence he had no claims on the woman or her children.

The animist relations would be annoyed because the woman was a marketable produce from her husband's family's point of view at the time when the marriage was contracted. She was virtually the procedure of more children and the odds were on these children eventually producing to the family more than the price the family had paid for the mother in the first place. This could be urged as a serious ground for demanding the children. It was thought very difficult to contest the right of the animist to claim the children of the Christian mother. If the animist relations were to be denied the right of seizing the children, the girl's father was considered the legal guardian. To liquidate such a claim nothing but a scale of about eight *mithuns* for each female child and four for each male would meet the purpose which in the case of five or six children would reach a ridiculous proportion, because the scale as regards the females being fixing at compensating rates against loss of future marriage price. Inability to pay such a scale of dues would give immunity to the Christian family unless in default, it was possible to force Christian children to be handed over to the animist relations.

Mr. McCall could not compete the claim of the Kukis demanding the children of the Christian widow unless their freedom was gained in pursuit of the principle set out in para 4. He considered that registration of the Christians was an essential thing though it would entail a troublesome addition of work. A provision was therefore immediately drawn up governing the question of conversions and reversions.[14]

REFERENCES

1. This document was forwarded to the Political Agent of Manipur by the Under Secretary to the Government of Assam, vide Memo No. 339-C, The Governor in Council, Government of Assam, dated Shillong 26th April 1928.
2. Memo No. 2166 -G. A., from J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur to the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated Imphal 19th December 1928.
3. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 1 of 20th February 1929.
4. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 3 of 23rd March 1929.
5. See Memo No. 60 P I-I, dated 12th April 1929, from His Highness Maharaja Chura Chand Singh to the Manipur State Darbar.
6. Letter from Rev. Watkin R. Roberts to Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad, dated 14th August 1929.
7. Letter, *ibid*, dated 11th September 1929.
8. Letter, *ibid* dated 28th September 1929.
9. Letter from Mr. Walker, the Deputy Commissioner, Cachar, to Pastor Dohnuna, dated 12th October 1929.
10. Letter from Rev. Watkin R. Roberts, Post Box 424, Calcutta, to P. J. Testro, 2 Dalhousie Square, Calcutta, dated 24th October 1929.
11. Letter from Rev. Paul Roasted, Mission Baungalow, Lakhipur, to Mr. J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur, dated 4th November 1929.
12. Letter from Rev. G. G. Crozier, American Baptist Missionary to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated 10th September 1929.
13. See G. P. Stewart, Sig., *Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur*, rev., dated 14th September 1929, p. 7.
14. Letter No. 1600 - Hill, from A. G. McCall, President of the Manipur State Darbar to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Imphal 24th September 1929.

NINETEEN

Interference of Watkin R. Roberts & Posting of the Rostads at Churachandpur

Looking up through the historical changes of religion in Manipur we find that in the time of king Charai Rongba (1697-1706 A.D.), Hinduism became the dominant religion of Manipur largely through the support and patronage of the reigning monarchs. Although the king himself formally took the sacred thread, he however did not attempt to establish Hinduism as the State religion. With Gharib Newaz (1709-1748) Vaishnavism became the official religion of Manipur and attempts were made to impose it upon the people as a whole. The reign of Bhagyachandra was a time when Hinduism was actually consolidated. It gained a firmer hold over the people of Manipur and it had an enthusiastic devotee in the king himself.

Vaishnavism had found its way into Manipur through three distinct stages. The first missionaries of the new faith had arrived in 1704. They were of the school of Nimbarka, and king Charai Rongba and his family were initiated into this sect. During the second quarter of the 18th century the second school of Vaishnavism had arrived under one missionary,--Santidas who came into Manipur from Sylhet and introduced the worship of Ram and Hanuman which was commonly known as Ramanandi. Santidas became the Guru of king Gharib Newaz and thus the Ramanandi school had replaced that of Nimbarka. Finally, during Maharaja Bhagyachandra's reign the school of Chaitanya had arrived in Manipur and it was prospering under the support and patronage of the king.[1] The names of the missionaries of the Chaitanya school had been ascribed to persons like--Ganga Narayan, Krishna Charan, Kunjabihari, Nidhiram and Ramgopal; and the name of the first Manipuri convert as Ngangbam Selungba. All these historical changes and

developments of the Vaishnab religion in Manipur had full but intermediary patronage of the ruling monarchs but it affected only the valley population, because it could never penetrate among the jungles to reach the hill people of the State.

The first attempt to preach Hinduism among the hill-men of the State under an official permission was made by His Highness Maharaja Chura Chand Singh during November 1929. It was a known fact that many hill-men of the Manipur State were being gradually converted into Christianity and so the Maharaja thought it proper to give at least a chance of converting these hill people into Hinduism. If the Political Agent could not do this the Maharaja even suggested to move the Government for this purpose, and he accordingly instructed Mr. Higgins to frame up some conditions to be observed by the Hindu missionaries who intended to preach the religion among the hill populations. The following were some of the important points drafted by the Political Agent during the last week of November 1929:

1. The missionaries should be Manipur State subjects; either Manipuris or converted hill-men, as because foreigners would be liable to create disturbances.

2. As in the case of Christian missionaries, the Hindu missionaries should not be entitled to demand transport, supplies or accommodation.

3. The Hindu missionaries should not demand the right of entrance to any village, the elders and villagers of which objected to the preaching of Hinduism within the village. But they might preach without interference at any spot outside the village boundaries, i.e., *panthong*.

4. There would be no compulsion exercised on the hill-men to change their religion, and the Hindu missionaries must not give out an idea that it was an order on the hill-men to adopt Hinduism.

5. Converts must not try to interfere with any of the existing rights and customs of the hill-men – such as the slaughter and eating of beef which had been permitted from time immemorial.

6. Hindu converts in the Naga villages would be

compelled to form new villages, i.e., outside the village *panthong*. This was found necessary in order to avoid disputes caused by the converts refusing to observe the old customs, particularly at feasts and gennas (*namungba*). It was clear that the sacrifice of cattle at a feast or genna would certainly cause offence to Hindu converts.

7. The Hindu converts would be compelled to carry out their share of all communal labour--such as the supply of transport for His Highness the Maharaja and other State officers on tour and the maintenance of roads etc.[2]

The above set of rules was put up to His Highness the Maharaja for approval because Mr. Higgins wanted to know if the Maharaja would agree that the Hindu missionaries could be bound by the above conditions. On 3rd January 1930, Chura Chand Maharaja had readily approved of the conditions laid down, except No. 2. Because he was of opinion that the Hindu missionaries would be in great difficulty in case coolies were not available, and therefore, he asked the Political Agent to consider what could be done in favour of the missionaries.

This new development in the State policy toward an upliftment of the Hindu religion was officially reported to Pettigrew and H. H. Coleman during the last week of January 1930.

During his furlough in America Pettigrew was mainly engaged with his research work on the archaic Meitei scripts. He and his wife were staying within a few miles of the Harvard University and they expected to stay there for at least one year. In view of the fact that there were some very interesting points which could be investigated in connection with the work upon the archaic Meitei, Pettigrew decided to take a course at the Harvard University under Professor Dixon who consented to help him on the archaic character and the vocabulary. There was some good material in the Widener Library of an epigraphic nature which Professor Dixon thought to be very helpful in tracing the origin of the archaic script. After making comparisons with this and the Deb-nagri as well as the Bengali script, Professor Dixon expected to get some probable hints on the subject. He had actually paid a visit to the Naga Hills some time in 1913, and he gad

a good collection of the Naga exhibits in the Peabody Museum. Pettigrew also found a copy of his *Manipuri (Meitei) Grammar* (1912) in the Library.

Professor Dixon made a suggestion to Pettigrew to procure from Manipur at least two of the old manuscripts in the archaic which Yumjao Singh had transliterated into modern Manipuri with an English rendering. Along with these materials Pettigrew wanted to have the vocabulary of almost 1,000 words which were already collected by Yumjao Singh, and the rough notes which they had jointly tabulated. Pettigrew occupied most of his time in comparing the alphabets of the Debnagri, Bengali and the archaic Meitei. He made as much research as he could with the little material in his hand. He believed that his study under the supervision of Dr. Dixon would certainly give him the training needed to produce the kind of research which Sir Grierson had proposed to Mr. L. O. Clarks in his communication to him some time in 1923.

In response to Pettigrew's request, on 22nd December 1928, Mr. Higgins despatched the following materials at 5, Ripely Terrace, Newton Centre, Mass. U.S.A. where Pettigrew was residing:

1. *Sanamanik* (an archaic Meitei manuscript which belonged to a villager of Sekmai. It was incomplete although with an English translation of the whole book by Yumjao Singh).

2. *Takhelngamba* (an archaic Meitei manuscript which belonged to Yumjao Singh, with an English translation and transliteration).

3. The notes prepared by Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh on the archaic Meitei language and grammar and a vocabulary containing about 1,000 words.

As there was no insurance between India and the U.S.A., Yumjao Singh copied out the notes and the vocabulary before they were sent. After having received the manuscripts and the other documents in the last week of March 1929, Pettigrew was having conference with Dr. Dixon at the Harvard University, and with the material which he discovered at the Widener University they were

investigating the matter and found it very interesting. Pettigrew understood that the question of the archaic characters could not be solved there as because the late 17th and early 18th century materials regarding languages were not easily found. He imagined the people of note in those days were more intent in India at least on matters commercial, and if the India Office Library and the British Museum could not help him further than he was able to get from the Widener Library, he had to drop any research as far as the character was concerned until his return to Manipur.

During July 1929, Pettigrew wrote to Mr. Higgins that he was leaving for England early in November and he intended to work at the British Museum. He hoped to have an interview with Sir George Grierson and expected to reach Imphal in January 1930.

During Pettigrew's long absence from Manipur, Dr. Crozier was kept well informed about the developments of new conflicts caused by the North East India General Mission. Although the English and the American Councils had dismissed Mr. Roberts, Testro and Dohnuna, Mr. Roberts still refused to accept his dismissal and so he went home to fight the matter out.

On 21st November 1929, Mr. Higgins issued the following Orders to H. K. Dohnuna and his son Thanglura forbidding them to enter the Manipur State and the same were communicated to Mr. P. J. Testro, the President of the Darbar, Rev. Paul Rostad and the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar for information:

> As I understand that you have admitted to the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar that you have been dismissed by the North East India General Mission, you are hereby informed that you must not enter the Manipur State without permission from the Political Agent of Manipur.

As soon as Mr. Coleman had arrived in Calcutta during November 1929, he immediately wrote to the Political Agent of Manipur that both the English and the American Councils were finished with Mr. Roberts. Mr. Coleman stayed at the Lee Memorial Mission, 13 Wellington Square at Calcutta and after seven days of his arrival in the city, Mr. Higgins informed him that the only matter of importance remaining to be settled was a complaint made by Dr. Crozier that the

workers of the North East India General Mission in Thingangphai, east of the Manipur River, were disobeying and proselytizing in the areas allotted to the American Baptist Mission. But still the Political Agent did not intend to take up any action until he had seen Mr. Coleman.

On 2nd December, Mr. Roberts sent a cable to H. K. Dohnuna who submitted the same to the Political Agent. The cable read:-

> Field Administration must remain undisturbed. Coleman holds no authority outside America but New Council will consider with him any constructive suggestion.

Again on 6th of the month he sent another airmail to P. J. Testro:

> I do not know what Mr. Coleman may or may not do after having heard through H. K. Dohnuna of the New Council, but he must definitely understand that he has no power to deal with any Field matters except through you both. If he wishes to visit the Churches I have no objection, but he must not talk about this matter anymore. H. K. Dohuna or Thanglura should go with him everywhere. Mrs. Rostad should also understand that she is acting wrongly in handling any missionary funds as Mr. P. J. Testro is still our Honorary Treasurer and our bank is Chartered Bank.
>
> I have given Mr. Sanders (Secretary) notice that no money is to be sent out except to Mr. Testro or kept in London until handed over to Mr. Wright Hay and myself on behalf of the New Council. I would like H. K. Dohnuna and all the workers to please realise that Mr. Coleman is to do nothing in any of the Fields except in co-operation with them and at their invitation--Roberts.

The President of the Manipur State Darbar had already been requested by the Political Agent to send in Langhinglova who was then the Field Superintendent. But the latter confessed that he was ill, and instead requested the Assistant Field Superintendent, Taishen, a worker of the Roberts' Mission to see the President. Mr. Higgins duly informed Taishen that Mr. Roberts, Lalnghinglova, Dohnuna and Thanglura were all dismissed by the Mission. He also warned that any one attempting to establish a second Mission in the area allotted to the North East India General Mission would be punished and would be liable to be expelled from the State. But of course, Taishen and Lalnghinglova were permitted to remain where they were so long as they as they invited no serious trouble.

After the issue of the Orders forbidding Mr. Thanglura

to enter the hills of Manipur, he made a complaint to the Political Agent to reconsider his case and to allow him at least a free access around the Mission area in Manipur. His appeal to the Political Agent contained some valuable facts on himself and other matters connected with the Mission. Mr. Thanglura was appointed as a Doctor on 1st June 1929, in charge of the Mission Dispensaries in the Manipur State by Mr. Roberts. He was sent to Manipur in the month of September 1929, with instructions to settle down at Tinsong. Since then, he said, he had written at least a thousand prescriptions and treated several hundred patients. After staying for three months there, he came down to Lakhipur to visit his parents leaving all his furniture at Tinsong. But quite unexpectedly he found out the Political Agent's Order of 21st November 1929, expelling him from the Manipur State. Thanglura's chief work in the State was to practice medicines as Sub-Assistant Surgeon, and in the Church he was under the Presbytery of the country. By accident he read a cablegram of 23rd November 1929, sent by Mr. Roberts to his father (H.K. Dohnuna):-

> Dissolving the present Council re-appointing Hay, Collett, Jones, Dobson, Harries. Warn Coleman Rostads lovingly. Recent resolutions irregular illegal. Dohnuna remains Field Secretary. - Roberts.

Out of the above five gentlemen excepting Rev. Wright Hay all the other four were from the old Council of the Mission in Great Britain. Thanglura stated that he did not care so much for the Council as because he was working for the people of the North East India General Mission's area in Manipur, and he promised that he would be under the instruction of either of the Council whichever would hold the Mission.

Another point of appeal which Thanglura requested from the Political Agent was that, he had a fiancee of a Kuki girl at Parbung village and the marriage ceremony was likely to take place within two months. Under these circumstances he requested either to allow him to stay in the country to help the people, or at least for two months, i.e., upto 25th February 1930, before which he would try to get things ready.[3] But Mr. Higgins strictly warned Thanglura that he was forbidden to enter Manipur until further order.

Since May 1929, Mr. Roberts had been defying the authority vested in the London Council of the North East India General Mission and he too incited a spirit of rebellion against those in London who decided that the best interest of the Mission would be served by abolishing the post or Field Director, a position which Mr. Roberts had held for several years. He had resigned from the Mission as Field Director on 26th January 1929, by letter, confirming and interpreting his letter by cable to America on 15th February. His resignation was accepted by the delegation party sent to India to investigate the activities on the Field. From that time onwards he did everything in his power to disrupt and disorganise the work of the Mission working through Dohnuna and one or more of his men. By December of the year he went to England and contemplated to sail for America to do what he could to disrupt the Organisations there.

Mr. Coleman, the newly appointed General Secretary of the Mission discovered that on 29th August 1929, Mr. Roberts had a deed drawn to Mr. Testro personally for their Bungalow property for which Mission funds were used to purchase it several years ago. He requested the Political Agent to allow him to enter Manipur for the Presbytery meeting in January 1930, because he believed that he would be able to bring peace at the meeting as already more than 75% of the Manipur workers had sent word to him stating that they were loyal to the Mission but were forced to side with Mr. Roberts through fear of Dohnuna.

In response to Mr. Higgins' enquiry as to the workers living at Thingangphai, east of the Manipur River in the area of the American Baptist Mission, Mr. Coleman reported that immediately upon his return from a trip to Dr. Crozier, he told Dohnuna who was then the Field Secretary, to pay no more allowance to workers in that area. By looking over their pay sheets since 1st June 1929, the date on which Mr. Coleman took over the payment of funds through Mrs. Rostad, he found that no allowances were sent into that area and the names of workers living there did not appear on the pay roll too. He also realised that Dohnuna had been sending considerable money into Manipur for those faithful to Mr. Roberts, but so far as the Mission was concerned, he believed

that they had no workers in any of the area allotted to the American Baptist Mission.

Actually Mr. Coleman wanted to use Thanglura later on when he saw his changed attitude. The Mission had already expended a great deal of money to educate Thanglura to become a Doctor, and therefore, it was necessary to get the benefit of his services for the people of Manipur. Another discovery made by Mr. Coleman was that an amount of rupees 4,000 as grant from the Manipur State Darbar for the purpose of medicines sanctioned during November 1929, was delivered to Lalnghinglova for payment to workers faithful to Mr. Roberts. He spoke to Thanglura about this and the latter acknowledge that he actually received the money in the name of the Mission of which he was not considered a member by that time. When Mr. Coleman demanded the said amount Thanglura promised to get it from his father, Dohnuna.

In the first week of January 1930, Mr. Higgins met Coleman and the Rostads in Imphal, on their way to Senvong. Mr. Coleman informed the Political Agent that, of the Council appointed by Mr. Roberts, one was his father-in-law who was previously a member of the Council. The other two were also previous members of the Council, but they were resigned some time ago. When Mr. Coleman took legal opinion in America, London and Calcutta he was advised that Mr. Roberts had no power to oust the existing Council and Organisation of the Mission.

During all these troublesome periods of the missionary activities in Manipur there seemed to be found no written correspondence regarding the American Baptist Mission in the State. This was due to the absence of Pettigrew from Manipur during his long furlough of 22 months. In one of his letters to G.S. Guha, Under Secretary to the Government of Assam, Transfer Department, Mr. Higgins wrote:-

> Mr. Pettigrew has been on leave for the last 18 months, and he has informed me from time to time that he is working in connection with the archaic Meitei with scientists in America. In July last he wrote that he was leaving for England early in November, and intended to work at the British Museum. He hoped to have an interview with Sir George Grierson, and expected to reach Imphal early in January, 1930.[4]

Again on 18th January 1930, Mr. Higgins wrote in his

Diary, "Mr. Pettigrew returned from 22 months leave the day before I left Manipur."

Immediately upon his arrival in Manipur, Pettigrew made an appeal to the Political Agent regarding the stay of Miss May Stevenson. The Manipur State Darbar in their Resolution No. 1 of 20th February 1929, had allowed her to remain at Kangpokpi for one year only as requested by Dr. Crozier. But by 22nd January next year, Pettigrew in his appeal to Mr. Higgins stated that on account of age, and for various duties that demanded time and labour of Mrs. Pettigrew and Mrs. Crozier, they were unable to give sufficient time to the care of the Girls' School and the Hostel at Kangpokpi. Therefore, the missionaries on behalf of the American Baptist Mission requested the Darbar to allow Miss Stevenson to remain in the work she had been doing. And in the event of her taking furlough in the spring of 1932, permission was also requested to allow the Society to place another lady in her position as an educational worker. But on 29th January 1930, the Darbar resolved that they could not modify their former resolution No. 1 of 20th February previous year which they only granted on the special grounds put forward at the time by Dr. Crozier.

During one of his conversations with the Political Agent, Mr. Coleman requested him the grant of a permission to Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad to reside in the Manipur State. When Mr. Higgins consulted His Highness the Maharaja, the latter was not inclined to permit any other missionaries in the State, except one medical officer for whom he had already granted permission. Mr. Higgins had a personal interview with His Excellency the Governor of Assam to discuss on the position of affairs between the North East India General Mission and Mr. Roberts. The Governor agreed with the Political Agent that, failing a legal decision to the contrary by a properly constituted Court, Mr. Coleman would now represent the Mission, and it was simply out of the question to permit a rival Mission whether represented By Mr. Roberts or any one else to work simultaneously in the area already allotted to the North East India General Mission.

Both Messrs. Higgins and Coleman put up some representations to the Manipur State Darbar during

January 1930. They requested for a removal of the head quarters of the Mission and the Schools from Lakhipur to Churachandpur, and also for allowing the Rostads to reside at the latter place for superintending the Schools and the missionary works of the Society. While denying the request the Darbar stated that they were never in favour of permitting a representative of the Mission to settle in Manipur; but-

> If the representatives of the Mission take advantage of the opportunity to send a missionary at Churachandpur, no guarantee will exist for permission to appoint a successor to this missionary and that all monies spent on buildings and other interests within the State is spent at the Mission's own risks and that the State will not accept liability for any loss the Mission would incur by having to surrender such interests on the cessation of the services to this representative.[5]

In the interview between His Excellency the Governor of Assam and Mr. Coleman the North East India General Mission was the subject of conversation and especially the Darbar resolution No. 2A of the proceedings of January 29th last. After the resolution of "If the representatives of the Mission take advantage .... to this representatives", a further clause stated that it was the desire of the Darbar to meet the Political Agent on this issue if he so wished to discuss the Darbar's position. Mr. Coleman had, in this connection informed the Political Agent that the Mission would certainly accept the restrictions imposed.

The Governor's interpretation of the abovementioned clause was that the Mission might send Rev. Paul Rostad into Manipur and purchase the buildings as offered. But before acting upon this the Governor asked Mr. Coleman to write to the Political Agent of Manipur for his permission and interpretation. Now Mr. Coleman very suprisingly informed Mr. Higgins that he had made an arrangement with Dr. Crozier to come over to the North East India General Mission as their Field Secretary. He expressed that it was rather a happy arrangement as they would have the doctor's services at Churachandpur within a few month's time, and that this arrangement would certainly assure peace between the American Baptist Mission and their's.[6]

Mr. Higgins however could not easily dispose of these matters without consulting the Maharaja. As regards the proposal of Mr. Coleman to purchase the State buildings at

Churachandpur by their Mission, Mr. Higgins took it as an advantage both of the Mission and of the State and he showed no objection to the offer. But the Darbar had to reserve the right to repurchase should it be decided in future to post a Sub-Divisional Officer at Churachandpur again.

Mr. Coleman's reference to His Excellency's interpretation of the Darbar resolution No. 2A of January 29th was flatly rejected by the Political Agent. Because this interpretation did not quite agree with His Excellency's own Note made during his conversation with Mr. Coleman. In this Note the Governor expressed that he personally could see no objection to the Rostads going to live at Churachandpur. The Political Agent too welcomed the posting of some responsible representative of the Mission at Churachandpur or elsewhere in the area allotted to the Mission with the object of clearing up the confusion and strife caused by the action of Watkin Roberts and Dohnuna. But the Darbar only accepted, as they were bound to do the orders of His Highness permitting the Mission 'to send a medical missionary to their areas. They therefore refused to extend this permission to the Rostads or to anyone else. While the permission granted to the Mission by the Maharaja of Manipur to send in a medical missionary still hold good, the Darbar was not prepared to allow any other missionaries and the Maharaja was also not prepared to overrule the Darbar. So Mr. Higgins had no power to override it and to grant permission to the Rostads to reside and work in their area. The Government had the power to issue such orders as they considered fit to the Manipur State Darbar and to His Highness the Maharaja. But an expression of opinion by the Governor to the effect that he could see no objection to Mr. and Mrs. Rostad residing at Churachandpur did not constitute an order that they should be permitted to do so. If Mr. Coleman was still unwilling to accept the decision of His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar he was encouraged to apply to the Government to ascertain whether they were prepared to overrule it.

As regards the transfer of Dr. Crozier from the American Baptist Mission to the North East India General Mission the Political Agent had no objection. Because the latter Mission

had already in their possession a permission to seed in a medical missionary and as Dr. Crozier was already working in the State with an approval of the higher authorities there could be no other difficulty in the transfer.[7]

On 8th April 1930, there held a conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss May Stevenson of the American Baptist Mission with Rajkumar Dumbra Singh, Senapati, who was then the Judicial Member of the Manipur State Darbar. The leading circumstances of the meeting which took place in the Residency were that, by resolution No. 1 of 20th February 1929, the Darbar had permitted Miss Stevenson to remain at Kangpokpi for one year only. But by resolution No. 1 A of 29th January 1930, the Darbar now refused to grant an extension of stay to Miss Stevenson. As a result of this refusal Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Stevenson had interviewed His Highness the Maharaja on 21st March 1930. The Maharaja declined to veto the decision of the Darbar, but he suggested that they should see the Senapati as the most influential member of the Darbar and represent their case to him. Mr. Higgins recorded the whole conversation between Dumbra Senapati and the lady missionaries. Although it could not be pretended to be a detailed record, at least it contained the gist of what had passed during the conversation. In a letter to the Political Agent, Dumbra Senapati wrote:

> Many thanks for your letter enclosing a copy of the Note recorded by you concerning the conversation held this morning about the stay of Miss Stevenson at Kangpokpi. It is a true and accurate record to my views and of what passed. The copy of the Note is kept with me.[8]

During the conversation Mrs. Pettigrew pointed out that she was not capable physically owing to increasing age, of coping adequately with the work of the Kangpokpi Mission Girls' School which contained 47 pupils. She requested the Darbar to reconsider its decision and thus permit Miss Stevenson to remain and carry on the work of the School. In the event of the Darbar's refusing to do so, she enquired what their reasons were for such objection.

Dumbra Singh Senapati replied that the Darbar and he were apprehensive at the spread of Christianity. There were probably some 10,000 Christians in the hills of the State by that time, and the increase in the number of converts was so

rapid of late years that soon there would probably be 30,000. Every Christian convert represented the loss of a potential convert to Hinduism. Moreover the Manipuris, though numerically slightly in excess of the hill-tribes, were a small community dwelling in a comparatively small valley surrounded by hill-tribes. The Darbar regarded the growth of a large Christian community in the hills not only as a menace to their religion, but also as a potential danger to the peace of the State. They recognised that the danger was not serious so long as the British Government remained to incur great expenditure for maintenance of peace in the hills. But the Darbar were compelled to look ahead and they could not be blind to the fact that in 20 or 30 years time, if not sooner, circumstances would debar them from looking to the Government for assistance should trouble arise in the hills. It was therefore, incumbent on them to do what they could to avoid the possibility of trouble; and in their opinion they would not be doing their duty if they assisted the spread of Christianity.

Dumbra Singh Senapati further stated that the Darbar had never willingly acquiesced in the entry of missionaries into the State. Pettigrew who was the original missionary had been brought in by the Superintendent of the State during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Chura Chand Singh. The Darbar, therefore did not like the replacement by others of the existing missionaries when their time came to give up their work. They were reluctantly compelled to refuse their sanction to any increase of the existing staff especially by younger persons, whose stay in the ordinary course of nature was likely to be longer than that of the missionaries already working in the Manipur State.

Mrs. Pettigrew however pointed out that she and Miss Stevenson were not asking for permission for extension of the work or for the inception of any new undertaking. She merely contemplated that Miss Stevenson should carry on the work which she had carried on therefore and which increasing years prevented her from doing as efficiently as formerly. Dumbra Singh Senapati replied that every new worker represented additional force and danger, and particularly the Christian women were likely to rear up Christian children.

When Miss Stevenson finally asked the Senapati whether he would recommend to the Darbar that she could be permitted to carry on her work at Kangpokpi till she was due to go on furlough in 1932, Dumbra Singh Senapati expressed that he could not recommend even the shortest extension of her stay in Manipur.[9]

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2. See D.O. No. 2288-G.A., from J. C. Higgins, Political Agent of Manipur to His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur, dated 21st November 1929.
3. Letter from Thanglura Lushai, L.M.P., Camp. Mission House, Lakhipur, Cachar to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated 9th December 1929.
4. Letter from J. C. Higgins to G. S. Guha, Under Secretary, Government of Assam, Transfer Department, dated 16th October 1929.
5. See Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 2A of 29th January 1930.
6. Letter from H. H. Coleman, General Secretary, Mission Bungalow, Lakhipur, Cachar to J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur, dated 1st March 1930.
7. D.O. No. 3542-G.A., from J. C. Higgins to H. H. Coleman, General Secretary, North East India General Mission, Lakhipur, dated Imphal the 24th March 1930.
8. Letter from Dumbra Singh Senapati to Mr. J. C. Higgins, dated Imphal the 8th April 1930.
9. "Note of a Conversation" between Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Stevenson of the American Baptist Mission and Rajkumar Dumbra Singh Senapati, Judicial Member of the Manipur State Darbar recorded by Mr. J. C. Higgins, Memo No. 197-G.A., dated Imphal the 10th April 1930.

TWENTY

Emergence of Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission and the Christian Association of Manipur

By 10th April 1930, the Political Agent wanted to know from Dr. Crozier himself as to when his transfer from the American Baptist Mission to the North East India General Mission would take place and whether he intended to reside at Churachandpur or Lakhipur and what arrangements were being made for treatment of the lepers and the running of the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi etc.[1]

Dr. Crozier replied that he would certainly join the North East India General Mission, but pending negotiations his full acceptance of their offer was yet to be made. He expected to meet Mr. Coleman in Gauhati sometime in the third week of April 1930, and they would return to Manipur together. By that time, Dr. Crozier said, it might be possible to say where he would reside. Most likely it would be at Churachandpur.

As soon as negotiations were suitably settled Dr. Crozier intended to communicate his resignation to his Home Board asking them to send a Doctor to take his place at Kangpokpi. He therefore requested the Political Agent to extend his full support in this matter; and he asked whether he was at liberty to tell his Board that the State would permit his substitute to take up his work at Kangpokpi or not. He intended to secure an official approval of this sort, so that he could send it to his Board along with his resignation for it would certainly have definite influence in helping the Board to secure and appoint a new Doctor to take up the work at Kangpokpi. The annual meeting of the Home Board was to be held in the last week of May 1930, and therefore, he wanted to have his resignation in their hand during the meeting.

The question of Dr. Crozier's successor was a vital one to the State authorities of Manipur, the Home Board of the American Baptist Mission as well as the Mission to Lepers. In this connection the backing of the Political Agent was considered highly necessary. Actually Dr. Crozier was planning to stay at Kangpokpi till the middle of December 1930, so as to give the new Doctor time to arrive and to get hold of the work properly before he left.

Under orders issued by the Political Agent of Manipur some time ago, Mr. Coleman, who was then staying at Shillong, sent a list of the accredited workers of the North East India General Mission on 19th April 1930. Two years ago, i.e., on 27th April 1928, Mr. Roberts (Field Director) had for the first time, submitted a list of pastors, evangelists, teachers and compounders etc., to the Political Agent of Manipur. The second list now furnished by Mr. Coleman might be compared with the previous one in the light of their number, posts and the Christian tribes recently converted. In his list Mr. Coleman informed that the workers mentioned were all authorised by the Mission. But H. K. Dohnuna who had been dismissed on 31st August 1929, was still continuing to pay allowances to a number of their former workers by using them to disturb the Mission's work. Another important event was that Mr. Roberts with the assistance of Dohnuna and Testro of Calcutta had recently founded a new Mission called the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission.

The following were the names of the accredited workers who were under the control of the North East India General Mission of London:

Sl .No.	*Name*	*Village*	*Clan*
1.	Bawia	Sinzawl	Lushai
2.	Bawnga	Saikawt	Hmar
3.	Chawnga	Tualbung	Hmar
4.	Dansuaka	Kanghreng	Paihte
5.	Dengkunga	Lungkawt	Hmar
6.	Gawihpuma	Bungpuilawn	Paihte
7.	Henpua	Santing	Rangte
8.	Hrangsuaka	Mualkawi	Lushai(Pawite)
9.	Kailiana	Tinsuang	Hmar
10.	Kainenga	Pamzal	Vaiphei

Sl .No.	Name	Village	Clan
11.	Kamkhawgina	Sialbu	Paihte
12.	Khaikhama	Hanship	Paihte
13.	Khuma	Phaibawk	Hmar
14.	Khupleta	Kamkeilon	Rangte
15.	Khuppuma	Taithu	Rangte
16.	Khupzathawnga	Tualbual	Thado
17.	Kunga	Tinsuang	Hmar-Lushai
18.	Kunga	Patpuihumn	Hmar
19.	Laibata	Khugzaig	Thado
20.	Lalpauva	Sinzang	Vaiphei
21.	Lamgina	Hanship	Paihte
22.	Lianhawla	Tinsuang	Lushai
23.	Liankeuvunga	Tinsuang	Hmar
24.	Lianphunga	Sinzawl	Paihte
25.	Luahthanga	Chawngkhąwzo	Vaiphei
26.	Lunzavuma	Lailawng	Rangte
27.	Mangdala	Hmuntha	Rangte
28.	Mangthanga	Khuangzang	Thado
29.	Nengzaliama	Bualtlang	Vaiphei
30.	Pauchhuma	Lungkawat	Paihte
31.	Paukhawgin	Thingkahl	Thado
32.	Pausinga	Phaitawng	Paihte
33.	Saia	Phaitawng	Paihte
34.	Savawma	Tinsuang	Lushai
35.	Sialthanga	Suangsang	Hmar
36.	Sumzathanga	Vawkbual	Vaiphei
37.	Tawna	Saikawt	Hmar
38.	Tesena	Sartuinik	Lushai
39.	Thangchhingupia	Khawpuibung	Lushai
40.	Thangkaia	Bualtlang	Vaiphei
41.	Thangvunga	Ngurte	Hmar
42.	Thangzaphupa	Chawnghmun	Rangte
43.	Thangzawana	Tinsuang	Lushai
44.	Thawmliana	Hmawngawn	Paihte (Dapzar)
45.	Thangzama	Tinsuang	Rangte
46.	Thuanggina	Suangphek	Paihte
47.	Thuamluna	Tinsuang	Thado
48.	Thuamtea	Tinsuang	Hmar
49.	Tuahthanga	Khawpuibung	Hmar
50.	Tualpua	Ngawnbung	Paihte
51.	Vaitlaia	Bungpilon	Lushai
52.	Vungkhawthanga	Hanship	Paihte
53.	Vungtuala	Kaihlam	Paihte

The following were the names of the former workers of the North East India General Mission who now came under the control of the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission:-

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Village*
1.	Bulchina	Mualkui
2.	Chawnga	Senvong
3.	Chhunrona	Jiriphai
4.	Dawnthawna	x
5.	Deka	Kawnzar
6.	Hrangkhuma	Kawnzar
7.	Kapa	Parbung
8.	Kapphunga	Lungthulian
9.	Kappua	Kawnzar
10.	Khaikhama	Kangkap
11.	Khuanga	Pherzawl
12.	Lalnghinglova	Pherzawl
13.	Lianrung	Songsang
14.	Liansangvunga	Leisen
15.	Liantinkaia	Pherzawl
16.	Maka	Tualpui
17.	Pauva	Maite
18.	Phungkhawthanga	Sialbu
19.	Rova	x
20.	Taisena	Senvong
21.	Taitea	Pamtul
22.	Thangngura	Tinsuang
23.	Thangtinlela	Maite
24.	Thuanzakhama	Lungchin
25.	Thanglera	Pamtul
26.	Vaka	Pamtul
27.	Vungdala	Lungkawt
28.	Zatinhranga	Kawnzar

In their conversation of the 8th April 1930, Dumbra Singh Senapati had personally told Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss May Stevenson that he could not recommend to the Darbar even the shortest extension of Miss Stevenson's stay in Manipur. In the annual meeting of the Assam Reference Committee held during the same month a special report was given showing the Darbar's refusal to permit Miss Stevenson to stay in the Manipur State. It seemed a great pity that work could not be allowed for them more than what Mrs. Pettigrew and Mrs. Crozier could do. The situation was therefore accepted as being the only possible one for the moment; and in the meantime a Special Committee was appointed to arrange for a place of Miss Stevenson to carry on her literary work for the Ao Nagas, pending the arrival of the Secretary of her Board in January or February 1931. by the last week of April 1930, she had already packed up and was ready to

leave as soon as the Committee notified her of the place for her to live.

On 25th April, the President of the Manipur State Darbar received a cable from Mr. Coleman, the General Secretary of the North East India General Mission. This cable was originally dated 4th April, and was sent by the Council of the Mission at London. The telegram read:

> Court to-day granted complete and final injunction restraining Roberts, Hay, Collett and Dobson stop authority of trustees and Council confirmed by Court's decision stop any further interference illegal and should be immediately reported.
>
> Sd. Walters, Horne, Sanders.

The activities of the newly established Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission working in the same area allotted to the North East India General Mission could not be tolerated by Mr. Higgins. He therefore warned the workers and told Mr. Coleman that, if Lalnghinglova and Taisena disobeyed the orders passed in December 1929, they would be evidently prosecuted. But he still did not propose to take up any action against Dohnuna until he received a definite report from the President of the Darbar who would be visiting Tipaimukh during May 1930 to make enquiries.

During April 1930, under a special instruction of His Excellency the Governor of Assam, the Maharaja of Manipur agreed to consent the following requests:

(1) To transfer Dr. Crozier from the American Baptist Mission to the North East India General Mission and his replacement at Kangpokpi by another medical missionary.

(2) To the residence at Churachandpur, with Dr. Crozier, of Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad of the North East India General Mission, then at Lakhipur.[2]

In accordance with the Darbar's views already expressed in para 3 of resolution No. 4 of 12th September 1917, and in view of the obvious necessity for the management of the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi as well as the desirability of assuring medical facilities to the hill tribes, the Maharaja presumed that the Darbar would raise no objection to a medical missionary being sent to carry on the work. Actually the question of the residence of Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad at Churachandpur was reopened by His

Excellency's letters giving the two following reasons for reconsideration on the part of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur:-

(1) The evident advantage to the State and the hill tribes of securing the services of an educationist free.

(2) The necessity of exercising a closer control over missionary work in the south-western hills than was possible from Lakhipur.

In this connection the Maharaja informed the Darbar that Mr. Roberts who had been forbidden to work and enter the Manipur State, had recently organised a new Mission known as the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission with 27 workers in the south-western hills of Manipur. It was clear that this could not be permitted without grave apprehension of disturbances and breaches of the peace. His Highness thought it necessary that there should be some representative of the Mission on the spot who could combat the influence of these workers and keep the State authorities informed of their movements and activities or of the advent of new workers.

As regards the desirability of securing the services of Dr. Crozier as medical missionary at Churachandpur, His Excellency the Governor was of opinion that this was very doubtful, unless another missionary family was permitted to accompany him there, as Dr. Crozier was not prepared to leave Mrs. Crozier alone at Churachandpur while he was touring in the hills. Although the Maharaja showed his reluctance to assist the spread of Christianity in the State, he felt that this should not prevail against the cogent reasons put forward by His Excellency, and at the same time he was not prepared to go to the length of resisting the expressed wishes of the Governor. He accordingly referred to the Darbar resolution No. 2A of 29th January 1930, for further consideration which the Darbar agreed to approve under the following conditions: -[3]

> The Darbar though still disagreeing strongly with this development, do not wish to contest the action taken by His Highness. In these circumstances the following arrangements are approved:-
>
> S.D.O.'s Bungalow, S.D.O.'s office and Head Clerk's quarter at Churachandpur may be leased to the North East India General Mission at once, the Mission paying Rs. 600 yearly with the option of

purchasing for Rs. 7,000 less rentals paid, after three years or as soon as it is decided, the State will not reoccupy the station of Churachandpur as Sub-Divisional Head Quarters or for any other purpose. In the event of the North East India General Mission not being permitted will be calculated at Rs. 360 yearly, rebates being given on evacuation of the buildings for the excess payments made.

Further, provided the evacuation of the buildings aforesaid is not due to causes attributable to the North East India General Mission, arrangements will be made to allot areas near Churachandpur not actually required by the State. In such circumstances, any compensation that may be considered reasonably due from the Mission to any party for loss of land or privileges may be made the subject of consideration when the position arises.[4]

This resolution had finally settled all the matters concerning the transfer of Dr. Crozier, the residence of Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad at Churachandpur and the purchase of State buildings by the North East India General Mission to locate their Head Quarters at Churachandpur.

In May 1930, three people namely - Chawnga, Pauva and Paliana who called themselves Chairman, Pastor-Secretary and Vice-Secretary respectively of the newly formed Christian Association of Manipur which represented at least 2,500 Christians and 25 workers, made a joint appeal to the President of the Manipur State Darbar showing the grounds why the Christians belonging to the above Association were not agreeable to join the North East India General Mission. They requested the State authorities of Manipur to give protection to the Christians in exercising their freedom of action in religious matters which had always been guaranteed to the subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor of India. Some of the important points mentioned in their appeal were as follows:

(1) It was a fact that before the dismissal of Mr. Watkin Roberts the Christians were members of the North East India General Mission.

(2) In the matter of appointments of Evangelists and Pastors who were supported by the Christians themselves, they enjoyed freedom of action. The Pastors and Evangelists were always appointed by the majority votes of the Association. In all social and religious matters also the hill people managed their own affairs and thus followed their own conscience.

(3) There were a few Pastors and Evangelists who were paid by the Mission during Mr. Roberts' time; but most of them were appointed by the Association. So it appeared that during the time of Mr. Roberts the Association was, in the matter of religion, an entirely self-governing Institution.

(4) Since the appearance of the new missionaries like, H. H. Coleman, Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad and Dr. Crozier, the Christians understood that a dispute was going on with Mr. Roberts, but they could not see the actual reasons. The new missionary (whom they referred to Mr. Coleman) wanted to interfere with the working powers of the Association so long enjoyed by it. While he dismissed some of the trusted persons of the Association from Mission works, he disapproved the dismissal of some others whom the Association wanted to remove.

(5) The Christians got a right to appoint their own workers. But the new missionary failed to recognise this right and he dismissed some workers from the Mission work during January, February and March, 1930 against the will of the Association. He also detained their salary for the year 1929 until February and March 1930, when some of them were paid only for six months' salary i.e., from January to June 1929; and some others were paid only eight months' salary, i.e., from January to August 1929.

(6) In the meantime, the dispute regarding the Mission affairs went on between Mr. Roberts and other authorities who claimed the Mission between them. The Christians wanted to wait, but they could not recognise Mr. Roberts' dismissal till the dispute was over.

(7) The new Mission authority in India had proposed to send in two missionaries to reside and work among the Christians. One was the very missionary who had dismissed the workers and refused to recognise the resolutions of the Association (H.H. Coleman); and the other was an orthodox Baptist missionary who would not follow the practice of baptism which had all along been followed by the Christians for about 20 years (Rev. Paul Rostad ?).

(8) Seeing all these troubles and internal difficulties in their work the Christians showed their desire to stand aloof

to prevent further troubles and dispute. They also decided to work 'independently' by their own collection.

These Christians who proposed to stand aloof sincerely expressed that they would always be under the legal control of the State authorities and Government. They also requested to protect them from any interference in the matter of their religious liberty.[5]

But all was not well with the Christian Association of Manipur as its members had thought primarily to meet a favour of the State authorities. Because Mr. A. G. McCall, President of the Manipur State Darbar immediately issued warnings to the Christians that if they took any action which might be construed as acting separately to the North East India General Mission they would be considered to have been guilty of causing a breach of the faith. Mr. McCall also found that the action taken by the discontented persons who formerly belonged to the Mission was to represent themselves as belonging to the Christian Association of Manipur, and as such, they could claim to be capable of acting as they liked and accepting funds as given to enjoy pay as Pastors or Masters to serve the wish of the people concerned.

The purport of the Association was that they would remain out of the North East India General Mission and make their own arrangements with money of their own. It was obvious that Lalnghinglova was the organiser of the Roberts' followers and he was very sore at heart because Mr. Coleman had refused to accept him on his staff. Mr. McCall considered that, the action of the Association was to set up a counter to the North East India General Mission, and it was therefore, illegal. It was still difficult to identify Lalnghinglova with this Association more closely than that he declared himself to be willing to support by working for them.

According to Mr. McCall, if a man were not a selected worker of the North East India General Mission, he could not take independent action against the interests of the Mission without becoming liable for being concerned in an action that was calculated to cause a breach of the peace. It seemed that, since Lalnghinglova had connection with the

Association which was a counter to the North East India General Mission, he was liable to be prosecuted under the Order of the Political Agent, dated 25th April 1930.

On his way back from tour at Churachandpur Mr. McCall met H. H. Coleman, and in connection with the recalcitrant Christians mentioned in the list of the Political Agent, Mr. Coleman informed the President that Lalnghinglova and the others had taken steps to satisfy him because they had every intention of supporting the authorised Mission. Further, it was not impossible that Mr. Coleman might offer employment to Lalnghinglova. In these circumstances Mr. Coleman considered that his interest would be best served if the matter be dropped and the active co-operation of the Christians be accepted rather than pressing for drastic action against Lalnghinglova. The arrest of Dohnuna was no doubt an immediate contributory cause for the surrender of the recalcitrant Christians in the south west area of Manipur.

The Political Agent also agreed with the President and Mr. Coleman that no action was necessary against Lalnghinglova and the other men who had now joined the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission. But he wishes to be well informed immediately of any further attempt to revive or carry on this Mission in the State.

REFERENCES

1. See D.O. No. 209-G.A., from J. C. Higgins to Dr. G. G. Crozier, dated Imphal, 10th April 1930.
2. D.O. No. 326-G.A., from J. C. Higgins to Dr. G. G. Crozier, M.D., American Baptist Mission, Kangpokpi, dated Imphal, 26th April 1930.
3. His Highness's Memo No. 99 P. I-I, to the Manipur State Darbar, dated Imphal, 28th April 1930.
4. See Manipur State Darbar resolution No. 6A of the 30th April 1930.
5. Letter from Chawnga, Pauva and Paliana to the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated Pherzawl, the 19th May 1930.

TWENTY ONE

Dr. Crozier's Severance with the American Baptist Mission

Before he left Manipur for America during September 1930, Mr. Coleman wanted to obtain some information from B. C. Gasper, the Sub-Divisional Officer of the Manipur south. First, two of the Christian families were about to move from other Manipur villages to the Mission Compound and they wished to cultivate rice on the plains living in the Compound. Regarding this matter, Mr. Coleman wanted to know whether these families would be interfered with by Semthong the Chief; and whether they would be permitted to use what timber was necessary to build their houses without paying to the Chief. He enquired what Government tax would be paid by each family for the use of one *pari* of rice ground.

Second, whether the Manipur State Darbar would grant the Mission some specific boundary lines within which they could have absolute control with the right to cut any number of wood necessary for building purposes upon the Mission Compound. Mr. Coleman was actually willing to compensate Semthong, the Chief, a reasonable amount of money for releasing whatever rights he might have upon the tract granted to the Mission.

Third, whether the two families coming to their Mission Compound would be obliged to forfeit what rice they had on hand to the Chief of the village.

Mr. Gasper replied that families living in the Mission Compound and cultivating in the Khuga Valley could not be interfered with by Semthong or subject to him. Numbers, of course, would have to be limited but this was a matter for the Sub-Divisional Officer to consider and not Semthong. As regards timber, this was connected with the matter of

boundary. Until a boundary was granted some compensation would have to be paid to the local Chief; for large trees were used to cut down with his permission for houses. But compensation could not be more than Rs. 4 per tree. The revenue payable was Rs. 3 per *pari* for rice land in the valley in addition to Rs. 3 per house in the hills. As regards the boundary question, the Sub-Divisional Officer suggested that Mr. Coleman would better mention the limits like—North, South, East and West as he desired. Because it was very doubtful whether the Manipur State Darbar would care to allow a boundary during the time, as the abolition of the three Hill Sub-Divisions was only an experimental measure. As to the forfeiture of rice, the Sub-Divisional Officer clarified that it was an usual rule when the Kukis migrated from one village to another.[1]

Semthong had in the meantime personally visited Mr. Coleman to talk over the size of the Compound. Actually Mr. Coleman did not intend to speak to Semthong about the matter before he heard from the Sub-Divisional Officer. But Semthong wanted to finalise the matter with Mr. Coleman before he went away from Manipur to America. Semthong agreed to give the Mission his rights to a tract approximately one square mile, and granting the right to cut timber for buildings as and when required. He also agreed to make no claim upon the families coming to live on the Mission Compound unless they jhumed some of his land outside of Compound boundary. He even wished that Mr. Coleman would immediately draw up a paper so that there would be no mistake in future. Mr. Coleman intended to make it read like the following:-

> ...Providing the Mission makes satisfactory arrangements with the Government to purchase the buildings at Churachandpur, the following described area of land shall be released by me to the Mission for their use and control as a Compound etc.[2]

By October 1930, the whole Mission Field was in a very satisfactory condition and Mr. Coleman was making preparations to leave Manipur for London in a happy frame of mind. However, Mr. Watkin Roberts, through his agent H. K. Dohnuna, was still continuing to disturb the native Christians in several villages. There were four Christians among Roberts' followers who openly defied the warnings of

Mr. McCall and they boldly proclaimed that a work from Dohnuna would cancel even an order from the Political Agent of Manipur. These men were:-

Taisena (Hmar) of Senvong village, born in the Lushai Hills.

Thanglera (Hmar) of Pamtul village, born in the Lushai Hills.

Lienruma (Hmar) of Suangsang village, born in Manipur.

Thangngura (Hmar) of Tinsong village, born in Manipur.

Chonga Hmar of Senvong was the leader of the disturbance but he was absent from his village when Mr. McCall sent out his warning. Vaka of Pamtul was also openly defying authority. Rova Hmar of Tuichhuahlian village was a great disturber in his village and vicinity.[3]

After the verbal agreement between Mr. Coleman and Semthong Haokip regarding the release of a tract of land in favour of the Mission, Mr. Coleman made a visit to the Sub-Divisional Officer on 26th September 1930, and he confirmed the same. At the request of Semthong Haokip of Songpi village, Mr. Coleman entered into a negotiation with him to determine the boundary lines over which Semthong was willing to transfer what rights he had to the Mission. The agreement along with a rough map showing the boundary lines were placed into the hands of Mr. Gasper. He himself realised that the agreement was not in any way binding upon the Government until approved; but Mr. Coleman was very pleased to note that Semthong Haokip made this concession to the Mission in a very friendly spirit. The following is an extract of the Agreement:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Semthong, Chief of Songpi Village Manipur

With

North East India General Mission Trust Limited of London, England

TRANSFER OF RIGHTS OF LANDS

September 22nd, 1930

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Whereas, Semthong, Chief of the Haokip village of Songpi in the State of Manipur, India, owns and controls certain rights to lands under Government control, in the South West Churachandpur Area.

The North East India General Mission Trust, Limited of London, England, desires to obtain possession of these rights covering certain tracts of land.

NOW THEREFORE, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH:-

For and in consideration of five rupees to him paid the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, said Semthong hereby agrees to transfer and by these presents does hereby transfer to said Mission all his right, title and interest in and to the certain tract of land shown upon the attached map which map becomes a part hereof - subject however to the approval of the Government or the Political Agent of Manipur.

Said tract of land is more specifically described as follows:-

A rectangular tract of land one mile long by one half mile wide situate and being in the Churachandpur Area. Beginning at a monumental stone located eight hundred seventy seven feet (877) from the centre of the Churachandpur Court House running due North and located on the Tipaimukh Road; thence running due East, thirteen hundred twenty feet (1320); thence running due South, five thousand two hundred eighty feet (5280); thence running West through a monumental stone set along the Tawnglon Path, twenty six hundred forty feet (2640) to the Mata River; thence running due North, five thousand two hundred eighty feet (5280) to a monumental stone; thence running due East, thirteen hundred twenty feet (1320) to the place of beginning - said tract of land containing three hundred twenty acres or more.

Said Mission hereby grants said Semthong the right to cultivate the two jhums now on this tract for two years, 1931 and 1932, and for this privilege said Semthong hereby, for himself and for his heirs grants to the said Mission and to all who may from time to time occupy said tract of land, the unrestricted and perpetual right to cut and obtain from the surrounding mountains, sufficient timber for building purposes and for firewood as may be required from time to time, without further compensation to him or to his heirs.

This agreement is subject to the approval of the Darbar or the Political Agent of Manipur and upon the approval of either of them, the said Mission hereby agrees to pay said Semthong the further sum of ninety-five rupees. Possession and control of the said tract of land to pass to said Mission upon the signing of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF--the said Chief Semthong and the said North East India General Mission Trust Limited by its representative H. H. Coleman, have set their hands on this Twenty Second day of September in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred Thirty.

In presence of:

Sd. Ella Rostad.

Sd. Thangkhaia

Sd. Lianhawla

Sd.

Semthong Songpi

North East India General Mission

Trust Limited.

Sd. H. H. Coleman

Attorney in fact.

Although the above agreement was signed by the two parties concerned, Mr. Gasper did not consider that Semthong had any proprietary right in the land, and as regards his rights as a tenant, he could not transfer these to a foreigner without the sanction of the Political Agent.[4] Therefore after a due consideration Mr. Higgins finally decided that the North East India General Mission should be allotted a compound at Churachandpur held upon lease from the State, similar to the leases granted to the American Baptist Mission for their compounds at Kangpokpi and Ukhrul, with such modifications as local conditions might render necessary or desirable.

On 4th November 1930, Mr. Higgins wrote to the Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar stating that the lease should be a temporary one at first, in view of the fact that the sale of the State buildings was conditional on the State's right to resume possession of the buildings on payment, and in the event of the Sub-Division at Churachandpur being reinstituted. A clause had to be inserted to the effect that the term of the lease would be renewed for a longer period, in the event of the sale of the buildings being confirmed. The lease would also require the sanction of Government as in the case of the leases already granted to the American Baptist Mission.

As regards Semthong's rights and the so-called Agreement, Mr. Higgins considered that Semthong had no power to transfer rights to foreigners without the sanction of Government. In these circumstances the Agreement had no legal value, nor the Political Agent inclined to accept it unless

it was registered in his Office and the terms properly explained to Semthong. He was of opinion that Semthong should receive some compensation for the loss of a portion of his land and for the settlement therein of neighbours whom he did not regard as congenial.

The Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar could easily settle the question of the lease in consultation with both parties. But since the State authorities of Manipur had already expressed an undesirable attitude to provide for the establishment of a Christian village at Kangpokpi over and above the Mission workers and the Leper Settlement, the same principle had to be followed at Churachandpur, as it was undesirable to create an *imperium in imperio.*

Semthong was not satisfied with the amount of compensation offered by the Mission. He stated that he had been induced to sign the Agreement by a threat that unless he took what the Mission offered, he would in all probability get nothing, as the land had already been promised to the Mission.

On the initiative of Mr. Gasper who was now promoted to the Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar, the Political Agent had consented to make draft-lease in favour of the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur similar to the leases already granted to the American Baptist Mission for their compounds at Kangpokpi and Ukhrul. Mr. Gasper sent a copy of the draft-lease for favour of expression of the General Secretary's opinion, so that he could lay the matter before the Darbar and in due course submit it to the Government of Assam for approval. A copy of the lease was also forwarded to Paul Rostad and another to the Land Revenue Officer (L.R.O.) requesting him to furnish a description of the land.[5] The following is an extract of the draft-lease issued to the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur before a final sanction of the Local Government:-

DRAFT-LEASE

WHEREAS in the Darbar Resolution No. 6A, dated 30th April, 1930, His Highness the Maharaja and the Darbar have consented to the residence at Churachandpur, with Dr. Crozier, of Mr. & Mrs. Rostad of the North East India General Mission, and whereas by the same

Resolution the State has rented some State buildings at Churachandpur to the Mission on an annual rent of Rs. 600 for three years, with the option of purchasing the same buildings for Rs. 7,000 less rentals paid, as soon as the State decides that the same buildings will not be resumed by the State; and whereas Mr. H. H. Coleman, the General Secretary of the North East India General Mission has applied for a piece of land to be at their disposal, I, B. C. Gasper, the Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar, on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar, do hereby grant with the approval of the Local Government (to be applied for later) to the North East India General Mission, which hereafter will be referred to by the word 'Mission' only in this document a lease for a period terminable at any moment when the State desires to resume the buildings rented at present to the Mission, for a plot of land measuring more or less....bighas... ...kattas... ...lechas, marked as Mission land in the attached map on the following conditions:-

1. The lease shall be current from .... to the time when the question of resuming or selling the State buildings at Churachandpur is finally decided by the Darbar. In the latter case, the lease will be renewed for a longer period, in the event of the sale of the buildings to the Mission being confirmed.

2. An annual rent of Rs. .... shall be paid on the 1st April of each year for the use and occupancy of this land.

3. The Mission shall pay to Semthong, Kuki Chief of Songpi village, Rs. ... in consideration of the inconvenience to which he and his villagers have been subjected by the Mission's having taken the land and covered by this lease.

4. The Mission shall not have the right to sell or alienate the land or any portion of it in any way, or to use the land or any portion of it for any purposes other than those immediately connected with the Mission.

5. The Manipur State will retain jurisdiction over all persons residing in the land covered by this lease, except such as are British subjects or foreigners, who will be under the jurisdiction of the Political Agent.

6. If any of the above conditions are contravened the lease may be cancelled and the land resumed by the State.

7. That, in case of non-renewal of this lease either by the wish of the State or of the Assam Government and provided that such non-renewal is due to no fault or conduct of the Mission, due compensation shall be made to the Mission for the permanent improvements and buildings on the ground covered by this lease, valuation of the same to be determined by at least two representatives of the Mission together with two representatives of the State, the valuation to be subject to the Political Agent's approval.

Sd. B. C. Gasper

6th December, 1930

Only in November 1930, Pettigrew came to realise that Mr. Higgins had actually objected to the suggestion of Dr.

Crozier's visit to Kangpokpi after he had been removed to Churachandpur, for the purpose of attendance upon the lepers in the Leper Colony there. So in the event of the new medical missionary not being able to arrive at the time they expected, and before the Society could secure the kind of man they wanted, Pettigrew requested Mr. Higgins to recommend to the Manipur State Darbar that the following arrangement could be made as had been done during 1923-1925, when the Croziers were in the United States:-

> The Civil Surgeon of Manipur be asked to pay periodical visits to the Leper Colony to advise upon the condition of the patients, their progress, with a view to include in the regular report to Dr. Muir of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, who supplies the medicines, and under whom we are responsible for the treatment given.[6]

Pettigrew strongly urged upon the Political Agent to make an appeal to the Foreign Secretary (J. C. Robbins) of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, either from him direct or from the Governor of Assam, stating the urgent need to promptly filling up the vacancy consequent upon the resignation of the Croziers from the above Society. The Reference Committee on the Field expected to receive a decision of the Darbar and to forward the communication to Dr. Robbins. One Miss Marion Burnham of the American Baptist Mission at Gauhati was to put up the matter to the Reference Committee at their next meeting at Sibsagar after December 1st, 1930.

Pettigrew received a cable from Dr. Robbins who stated that a medical man was secured but he would not be on the Field till October 1931. This new medical man was in charge of a hospital in St. California and he could not break his contract before July 1931. From all accounts he was just the kind of man the Mission needed and it was assured that he could certainly please the Political Agent of Manipur and the Darbar too.

Pettigrew had already expressed his views about the care and supervision of the Leper Colony until the new medical man arrived and took over the charge. It was on the understanding that Mrs. Pettigrew and he himself would take care of the lepers with Aban Compounder's help during the times when the Civil Surgeon was away. There was a large number of Christians among them, probably about half of

them, and Mr. and Mrs. Pettigrew were needed for that group; but the non-Christians had to be looked after just the same. The medical side of the Colony would, of course, be under the supervision of the Civil Surgeon and Aban the Compounder.

The matter of the draft-lease was never intimated to Dr. Crozier before he took charge in the North East India General Mission. When he came to know about the correspondence by 15th December 1930, he hurriedly wrote to Mr. Gasper saying that, as Mr. Coleman was in America and as he had not yet really taken up his work as Field Secretary it would be well to delay the matter of lease until he settled at Churachandpur on or before the middle of January 1931. He had to assume his duties in that Mission on January 1st, 1931, and on reaching Churachandpur he wished to deal with the matter personally. In addition to a few months serving as a medical practitioner at the Chingmeirong Concentration Camp, Dr. Crozier who had exactly joined the American Baptist Mission in Manipur as the only medical missionary on June 1st, 1919, had thus resigned his parent Mission after serving for more than Eleven Years and freely joined the North East India General Mission--a rival Mission to his previous Society. His resignation was finally accepted by the Manipur State Darbar and recorded thus in one of their resolutions on 12th January 1931:-

> 4A. Considered the final arrangements at the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi, the present arrangement made between the Political Agent, Vice President, M.S.D., Dr. Crozier, Civil Surgeon and Rev. W. Pettigrew being that the medical side of the Institution should remain under the charge of the present Compounder who is working there and that the Civil Surgeon will supervise the work once a month or so until the new medical missionary arrives in October 1931, and that Dr. Crozier should sever all connections with the Institution in the meantime.
>
> The Darbar agree to the arrangements made, provided the Mission will pay the Civil Surgeon any travelling allowance incurred by him in his special work.[7]

Immediately after the above resolution was passed, Dr. Crozier critically studied the draft-lease as sent to him by Mr. Gasper, and it seemed to him practically all right. He remarked that the surveyors could be guided to the places suggested for the boundary by one of the teachers who had been told to have the jungles cut so that a clear view could

be obtained from place to place. It seemed to Dr. Crozier that there was no need for quite so much of land, especially to the west. He therefore, cut off about 100 acres from the west side and the south end, and he suggested the boundaries to be arranged about as follows. An extract of the *Note on Boundary* furnished by Dr. Crozier was read as follows:-

> To the North by the side of the path to the near village, leave the boundary stone where it is and let the North boundary in general be the little valley just there, the North West corner be close to a big oak tree about 100 ft. from that post, and to the East let the line run out halfway between the Dak Bungalow and the former Head Clerk's house and set a stone just in the corner where the path from the Dak Bungalow joins the Briddle path, thence about 400 ft. down the Briddle path to a little tree cut for a marker.
>
> Thence South to the second tree just below the site of the stable used for the sepoys, to the tip of a small knoll, just below a large-leaf tree by the path on the ridge that runs down from the front of the S.A.S's house, to a tree on a sharp ridge that extends South East from the back of the S.A.S's house.
>
> Thence West to a stone to be set just below the last oak trees by the path on top of the main ridge - 300 or 400 ft. North from where the post has been set.
>
> Thence North to the big oak tree forming the North West corner.[8]

During the early parts of 1931, Pettigrew diverted his full attention toward an educational policy of the State, particularly for the Thangmeiband and the Ukhrul Mission Schools. Nearly one year ago i.e., during March 1930, he had an informal conversation with Mr. McCall regarding the School buildings at Ukhrul which were occupied by the American Baptist Mission to have them repaired. These buildings were built with the State-grant many years ago, and when Mr. Peters, the Sub-Divisional Officer took possession of the Mission Bungalow at Ukhrul in 1920, these buildings were annually repaired by Pettigrew and the cost were paid by the State. Since 1920, the buildings were repaired occasionally by Mr. Peters, but a year before his departure no repairs whatever had been done to them. The six hostels on the cottage plan were in a very bad condition and they were expected to be pulled down and new ones erected. The School building and the Book Room were also to be white-washed and the roof repainted.

The School furniture and equipments were practically all the property of the American Baptist Mission; and the

buildings also required great repairing where needed and other necessary equipments put in. But if the State did not wish to continue repairing these buildings, and if they were willing to hand over the same free of cost, then it would be upto Pettigrew to secure from Mission funds the necessary amount to have the needed repairs carried out. In view of the good work and helpful contributions rendered by the School toward the State for nearly 34 years, Pettigrew now made a request to Captain Harvey to hand over the buildings free of cost to the American Baptist Mission.

Another important matter was that, Pettigrew had been personally advised by the State authorities of Manipur to erect hostels for the Christian boys at Thangmeiband on the Christian compound. But regarding this proposed hostel Pettigrew was not in a position to state definitely whether the American Baptist Mission would be willing to erect a hostel there at the Mission's expense. It was well known that during the American Depression of the early 1930s, huge fortunes were lost by many businessmen and the savings of millions of small investors vanished. Factories were closed, the number of unemployment rocketed, foreign trade fell, banks failed, mortgages were fore-closed and all the time the prices of wheat, cotton, copper, oil and other commodities kept sinking. The buying power of the United States was completely paralysed. Thus while staying in Manipur unaffected and with little understanding of the financial situation in the United States, Pettigrew frankly confessed that it would be impossible for the Society to go to such an expense.

There were signs that the number of Christian boys which started at nearly 20 in March 1930, were gradually dwindling owing to students giving up their studies at Johnstone High School and the New High School at Imphal. By the middle of February 1931, there were only Eleven students in the hostel. Pettigrew, therefore, thought that it would be wise to postpone this question of erecting more hostels for another year to further test out these would-be High School students.

The discussion of these plans took place some time in March 1930, when Pettigrew put up the matter to the notice

of the President of the Manipur State Darbar. But nearly about 10 months later, Pettigrew received the Darbar resolution on 12th December 1930 - to the effect that the American Baptist Mission should erect the necessary hostels at their own cost. Another reason for the delay in replying to the above was due to the fact that Pettigrew thought it necessary to make enquiries from those closely concerned with the suggestion and to secure further information from the Christian gathered at their late Conference at Ishmail. A number of them had voluntarily erected the temporary buildings at the Thangmeiband Christian Compound at their own expenses.

A third important matter was in connection with the question of reducing the number of scholarships at the Ukhrul Mission School to 10 only as had been ordered by Mr. McCall during April 1930. Perhaps there were some reasons for keeping back this information till a few days before the arrival of Captain Harvey, the new President of the Manipur State Darbar in December of the year. In accordance with the wish of the Political Agent, Pettigrew had to arrange for the Mission School at Ukhrul to serve as an Upper Primary School. Because most of the Mission Schools which were of the Lower Primary standard in the north east area of Manipur felt an apparent disadvantage beside the State Schools. The following chart would clearly indicate the discriminations between the Mission and the State controlled Schools:-

Upper Primary Mission School, Ukhrul

1. Pass Mark for promotion - 50%
2. Scholarships or Aid for only those who passed in the higher class with largest percentage.
3. All School text-books were paid for by each student.
4. Scholarship holders worked on hostel and School compound two hours per day.

Upper Primary State School, Ukhrul

1. Pass Mark for promotion - 33%
2. Scholarships for every boy in the School.
3. All text-books were distributed free.
4. No work done by scholarship holders.

The above chart indicated how the Mission School was placed in a very unsatisfactory position. Petitions came in from the Lower Primary Central Schools to allow them to enjoy either a free distribution of all text-books for the L.P. and U.P. classes as was given to the State Schools in that area, or to reduce the prices charged at the Book Room in Imphal, to Mission Schools perhaps to half or even less. In this connection, Pettigrew requested the President of the Darbar to consider sympathetically for an impartial outlook for both the L.P. and U.P. State Schools at Ukhrul and the Ukhrul Mission School.

In general the American Baptist Mission was doing a great deal of good work on behalf of education in the hills of the State. Their Schools were open to non-Christians and Christians alike, while the former were not compelled to attend classes at which religious instruction was imparted. The Mission had a Middle English School at Kangpokpi, on the rolls of which there were 68 boys and 41 girls during 1930-31; as against 83 boys and 49 girls during the previous year. The average daily attendance was 116.91 boys and 104.82 girls.

The American Baptist Mission had four Upper Primary Schools as against five in 1929, with a total of 134 boys and 29 girls on the rolls as against 218 boys and 44 girls in 1928-29; and 29 Lower Primary Schools as against 35 in 1929-30. Altogether the Mission had 58 male teachers and 4 female teachers on its teaching staff. They spent Rs. 8,957 on education towards which total the Manipur State paid a sum of Rs. 1,667. From the beginning of the year 1930 all these Mission Schools were instructed to use the State teaching curricula.

The Manipur State conducted all its teaching in the hills in Manipur vernacular, and except for an experiment in the Tangkhul area a few years ago, the State did not teach the hill vernaculars again. Because among the Tangkhul areas Manipuri was fast becoming the *lingua franca* of these people owing to the immense variety of dialects and sub-dialects within one and the same tribal language. The Schools conducted by the American Baptist Mission always included Manipuri (Bengali character) in its curriculum, but they first

taught hill vernaculars through the medium of text-books printed in the Roman character. In its higher classes they went on to the teaching of English. The State authorities felt very much indebted to this Mission for spreading education in Manipur over a vast tract of the country, but the system adopted by the Mission was open to objection, as because the State authorities thought that it burdened the young minds with two alphabets.[9]

The North East India General Mission had also a Middle English School at Churachandpur at which there were 24 pupils; and two Upper Primary Schools with a total of 61 pupils. The Mission had 29 teachers on its staff and they spent Rs. 6,789 on education within its area during 1930-31. Unfortunately this Mission did not prescribe Manipur in the 30 Schools run in the hills. Their teaching was conducted through Lushai language with English as the final objective. Since Lushai was not a Manipur State language the Darbar issued instructions to change their policy as there was strong objection to the use of this foreign language--to the exclusion of Manipuri--so close to the valley and the capital of the State. The Darbar, in their resolution of 20th May 1931, stated unequivocally that education in the hills must be imparted through the medium of Manipur written in Bengali characters for which purpose text-books were being provided, and all the Lower Primary text-books being actually ready for issue. Thus Manipuri was hoped gradually to become the *lingua franca* in use throughout the hills of the State.

After Pettigrew came back from his 22 months furlough, he could not immediately take up the work on the compilation of the archaic Meitei Scripts. He was very anxious to obtain the services of a temporary typist to prepare the fair copy of the manuscript of the monograph. In the last week of December 1930, he wrote to Yumjao Singh asking him to give an approximate calculation of the time that would take to complete the translation and transliteration of the two proposed books, viz., *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* (39 leaves) and *Ningthourol Lambuba* (348 leaves). He thought of the honorarium the State ought to give to Yumjao Singh for the important part

he was taking in the investigation, because he certainly was not to be forgotten in the book. Pettigrew said nothing to Yumjao Singh about this, nor had Yumjao Singh said anything to Pettigrew.

By January 1931, Mr. Higgins had proposed to the Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts as regards the question of the remuneration of Yumjao Singh who had already worked on the monograph without any pay for upwards of seven years. It was understood that much of the labour of preparing the manuscript for publication would certainly fall upon his shoulders in his spare time. Mr. Higgins suggested that Yumjao Singh should be given an honorarium of Rs. 500 when the work was completed, or that he could be paid at the rate of Rs. 25 per month commencing from 15th January 1931.

The monograph was proposed to embody the manuscripts of *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* and *Ningthourol Lambuba* along with a grammar and notes of the archaic Meitei language and lastly, a vocabulary of the archaic Meitei. According to Pettigrew all these were sundry notes and the manuscript was still in the rough. He thought he could do no better than typewrite out what material he and Yumjao Singh had in their hands. However they were out to make the monograph of some practical use to the philologists the world over. Pettigrew, therefore, requested Johan Van Manen, General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for his criticism and expert advice on the precise form in which they could present the manuscript. In the last week of March, 1931, Pettigrew sent the following documents to the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal requesting for his help and guidance:-

1. Two specimen leaves of script of *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* (11 pages)

2. Pages 1-14 of the rough Introduction to the monograph with 5 photos of stone inscriptions.

3. Pages 1-50 of the Grammar.

4. Pages 1-55 of the Vocabulary (630 words so far, more to follow).

In one of his letters to Johan Van Manen, Pettigrew frankly confessed that he and Yumjao Singh were not aiming at anything classical. He looked upon this effort as merely a prelude to something more intensive. They had only gathered up the fragments of knowledge in this matter and they did not lay claim to anything original.

REFERENCES

1. Memo No. 469-South, from B. C. Gasper, S.D.O., Southern Sub-Division to H. H. Coleman, General Secretary of the North East India General Mission, dated Imphal, 23rd September 1930.
2. Letter from H. H. Coleman, General Secretary, N.E.I.G.M., Mission Bungalow to B. C. Gasper, S.D.O., dated 19th September 1930.
3. Letter from H. H. Coleman to J. C. Higgins, Political Agent in Manipur, dated 6th October 1930.
4. No. 510-M/2, from B. C. Gasper, S.D.O., South to H. H. Coleman, C/O Post Master, Imphal, dated 20th October 1930.
5. No. 913 Hill XXIV - 3, 914 Hill XXIV - 3 and 915 Hill XXIV - 3 from B. C. Gasper, Vice President of the Manipur State Darbar to the General Secretary of the North East India General Mission, Churachandpur, dated 6th December 1930.
6. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew, A.B.M., P.O. Kangpokpi, Manipur, Assam, Camp S.E. Area to J. C. Higgins, dated 12th November 1930.
7. See Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 4A of the 12th January 1931.
8. Letter from Dr. G. G. Crozier to the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated 17th January 1931.
9. C. W. L. Harvey, President, M.S.D., *Administration Report of the Manipur State* for the year 1930-31, printed at the State Printing Press, Imphal, Part II (Hill), 1931, pp. 14-15.

TWENTY TWO

Pettigrew's Severence with the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi

Exactly nineteen years ago Pettigrew had applied to Colonel Shakespear for a permission to open a School in the Somra Tract under the circumstances when a few Somra people came upto Ukhrul in April 1912 requesting Pettigrew to establish a School in the midst of the seven villages of the Somra District. When Pettigrew expressed his intention to send a native worker in the shape of an evangelist who could also do the work of a teacher the Government of India had decided that the boundaries of Manipur were not to be enlarged over the unadministered area of the Somra Tract which was some time claimed by the Burmese Government.

But now during March, 1931 the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin forwarded to Pettigrew an official correspondence between the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, Home and Political Department and the Commissioner of the Sagaing Division referring to a grant of permission to the American Baptist Mission of the Manipur branch to start missionary work in the Somra Tract. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma expressed his views in consultation with the Honorary Secretary of the Burma Christian Council that if Pettigrew intended to start a Mission his plan should in no way contemplate overlapping with any missionary efforts from the Burma side. But unfortunately Pettigrew had no intention of establishing a Mission station in the Somra Tract except sending one or two Naga teachers among the Somra Tract Nagas at their own request. The Burma Christian Council frankly expressed that even if the establishment of a Mission station in the Somra Tract were planned, there would be no objection on their part, or particularly on the part of the Wesleyan who were nearest to that region so long as it were east of the

Chindwin River and north of Homalin. The Burma Christian Council also expressed that they would never object to the Government's granting permission to the American Baptist Mission of Assam to work among the Tangkhul Nagas of the Somra Tract.[1]

It was on the basis of the opinion presented by the Honorary Secretary of the Burma Christian Council that the Chief Secretary of the Government of Burma was ready to grant permission to the American Baptist Mission. He formally informed the Commissioner of the Sagaing Division that the Local Government had no objection to Pettigrew being permitted to start missionary work among the Tangkhul Nagas in the Somra Tract.[2] This offer, however attractive could not flicker and revive the fire in the heart of Pettigrew after all the struggles that he had to face through many stages of his missionary activities in Manipur. The long journey of his missionary Odyssey already came to a sudden halt and he did not try to further spread his yearnings for the good services of mankind through Christ.

In November 1930, Dr. Crozier had been requested by Mr. Higgins to furnish a list of all the names of Christian workers who served under the American Baptist Mission. The list was actually prepared by Pettigrew in May 1931, and he reported that all the previous lists were cancelled and the new lists put in its place. The following were the names of all the Christian workers upto the year 1931:-

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION, MANIPUR

American Baptist Mission Office, Kangpokpi

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Tribe*	*Village*	*Occupation supported*	*By whom*
1.	Ngulhao	Thadou Kuki	Kangpokpi	Translator	A.B.M.
2.	Malumchi	Tangkhul	Hundung	Clerk	A.B.M.
		Kangpokpi Mission School (Boys & Girls) Middle English			
1.	Miksha	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Head Master	A.B.M.
2.	Saphei	Tangkhul	Langtang	2nd Master	A.B.M.
3.	Maringthei	Tangkhul	Phungyo	3rd Master	A.B.M.
4.	Shiclal	Thadou Kuki	Buning	4th Master	A.B.M.

Sl. No.	Name	Tribe	Village	Occupation	By whom supported
5.	Longkhobel	Kom Kuki	Shembang-yal	5th Master	State Grant-in-Aid.
6.	Sanam La F.	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Head Mist-ress.	A.B.M.
7.	Thangren	Lushai	Aijal	2nd Mistress	A.B.M.
8.	Chingkhonem	Thadou Kuki	Kangpo-kpi	3rd Mist-ress.	A.B.M.
	Ukhrul Mission School (Boys) - Upper Primary				
1.	Harorei	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Head Master	A.B.M.
2.	Ninghei	Tangkhul	Phungyo	2nd Master	State Grant-in-Aid.
3.	Maringmi	Tangkhul	Phungyo	3rd Master	State Grant-in-Aid
4.	Ngashanphung	Tangkhul	Phungyo	4th Master	A.B.M.
5.	Khayekring	Tangkhul	Phungyo	5th Master	A.B.M.
	Medical Department, Kangpokpi				
1.	Aban Momin	Garo	Tura	Compounder	A.B.M.
2.	Shimkhayei	Tangkhul	Khangairim	Compounder	A.B.M.
3.	Shemseh	Thadou Kuki	Lungp-hou	Chawkidar	A.B.M.
4.	Hiching F.	Thadou Kuki	Makeng	Chawkidar	A.B.M.
	North East Area, Eastern Section				
1.	Thisan	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Suptd. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Yarho	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Evangelist	ditto.
3.	Ngashanphung	Tangkhul	Phungyo	Pastor	Native support.
4.	Yarngai	Tangkhul	Shangshak	Pastor	Native support.
5.	Yangla	Tangkhul	Shangshak	Evangelist	Native support.
6.	Ungchipai	Tangkhul	Shangshak	School Teacher	Native Support.
7.	Changkhareng	Tangkhul	Shiroi	School Teacher	Native support.
8.	Yariya	Tangkhul	Phungrim	Pastor	Native support.
9.	Maya	Tangkhul	Phungrim	School Teacher	Native support.

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Tribe*	*Village*	*Occupation*	*By whom supported*
10.	Ringshi	Tangkhul	Phungrei	Pastor	Native support.
11.	Ngazekching	Tangkhul	Phungrei	Evangelist	Native support.
12.	Mara	Tangkhul	Choithar	Pastor	Native support.
13.	Lungshi	Tangkhul	Dungrei	Pastor	Native support.
14.	Inchinsung	Tangkhul	Pongba	School Teacher	Native support.
15.	Tuizar	Tangkhul	Pongba	Evangelist	Native support.
16.	Shangreikhai	Tangkhul	Grihang	School Teacher	Native support.
17.	Yarteo	Tangkhul	Ningchou	School Teacher	Native support.
18.	Khaso	Tangkhul	Apong	School Teacher	Native support.
19.	Mashangthei	Tangkhul	Maku	School Teacher	Native support.
20.	Langzar	Tangkhul	Nampisha	Pastor	Native support.
	North East Area, Western Section				
1.	Reichumhao	Tangkhul	Somdal	Suptd. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Luikai	Tangkhul	Phungton	Evangelist	A.B.M.
3.	Yerei	Tangkhul	Somdal	Evangelist	Native support.
4.	Maninglum	Tangkhul	Somdal	Head Master Central School	Native support
5.	Chilang	Tangkhul	Somdal	2nd Master	Native support
6.	Ngapaikhui	Tangkhul	Somdal	3rd Master	Native support.
7.	Phanitphang	Tangkhul	Somdal	4th Master	Native support.
8.	Khashim	Tangkhul	Somdal	5th Master	Native support.
9.	Lungthuk	Tangkhul	Phatang	Pastor	Native support.
10.	Kashui	Tangkhul	Phatang	School Teacher	Native support.
11.	Haishui	Tangkhul	Lamlang	School Teacher	Native support.
12.	Fareng	Tangkhul	Ishmail	School Teacher	Native support.
13.	Malungmi	Tangkhul	Ishmail	Pastor	Native support.

Sl. No.	Name	Tribe	Village	Occupation	By whom supported
14.	Khathing	Tangkhul	Leishan	Pastor	Native support.
15.	Suisa	Tangkhul	Phungton	School Teacher	Native support.
16.	Yarngai	Tangkhul	Chawai	Pastor	Native support.
17.	Paisho	Tangkhul	Tora	Pastor	Native support.
18.	Mingmayang	Tangkhul	Maichon	Pastor	Native support.
19.	Maungthei	Tangkhul	Ngaimu	Pastor	Native support.
20.	Ngakhulun	Tangkhul	Kukon	Pastor	Native support.
21.	Yarngai	Tangkhul	Huimi	Pastor	Native support.
22.	Ngareophung	Tangkhul	Khangairim	Pastor	Native support.
23.	Abune	Tangkhul	Chingjaroi	Pastor	Native support.
24.	Wothiza	Tangkhul	Chingjaroi	School Teacher	Native support.
25.	Yartong	Tangkhul	Chingjaroi	Evangelist	Native support.
			North Section, Sadar Area		
1.	Porom Singh	Loi	Christian	Supdt. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Thangkhoyam	Thadou Kuki	Karakhun	Evangelist	Native support.
3.	Yamkhoshei	-do-	Tongkoi	Pastor	-do-
4.	Douthang	Kom Kuki	-do-	School Teacher	-do-
5.	Mangkhothang	-do-	Makokching	-do-	-do-
6.	Mara	Tangkhul	Mapao	-do-	-do-
7.	Thangzashon	Kom Kuki	Phaireng	-do-	-do-
8.	Yamkhusheh	Thadou Kuki	Karakhun	-do-	-do-
			South East Area		
1.	Teba	Kom Kui	Sembangyal	Suptd. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Thoma	Mayon Kuki	Khongyon	Evangelist	-do-
3.	Leopu	Kom Kuki	Shongphel	Evangelist N.W.	Native support.

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Tribe*	*Village*	*Occupation*	*By whom supported*
4.	Chungpu	Kom Kuki	Sembangyal	School Teacher.	Native support
5.	Lalthattong	Kom Kuki	Khoirentak	-do-	-do-
6.	Sheikho	Thadou Kuki	Gelmol Machet	-do-	-do-
7.	Bukhothang	Kom Kuki	Sagang	Pastor	-do-
8.	Tonem F.	Anal	Toupoki	School Teacher	-do-
9.	Bevol	Anal	Khubung Khunou	-do-	-do-
10.	Bepu	Anal	Khubung Khumkha	-do-	-do-
11.	Khimung F.	Anal	Khubung Khulen	-do-	-do-
12.	Thundon	Anal	Firan	Pastor	-do-
13.	Nagamdil	Anal	Khongyon	School Teacher	-do-
14.	Angphar	Anal	Serai	-do-	-do-
15.	Kabung	Anal	Liva Khu-nou.	Pastor	-do-
16.	Seidon	Kom Kuki	Aimol	Pastor	-do-
17.	Tongkhoshei	Thadou	Chandel	Head Master Central School.	-do-
18.	Thungdil	Anal	Chandel	2nd Master	-do-
19.	Runghring	Anal	Toupokpi	Evangelist S.E.	-do-
			North West Area, Northern Section		
1.	Helkhup	Thadou kuki	Makui	Supdt. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Lunch	-do-	-do-	Head Master Central School	Native Support
3.	Letuhohao	-do-	-do-	2nd Master	-do-
4.	Munsei	Kom Kuki	Tuyangwai-chung	School Teacher	-do-
5.	Lungkhohen	-do-	Uibuk	School Teacher	A.B.M. & native support.
6.	Tongmang	Thadou Kuki	Sonjang	-do-	Native support
7.	Sathang	-do-	Kangpokpi	Evangelist	Native support &A.B.M.
8.	Lhungjalam	-do-	Tamenglong	-do-	Native support
9.	Khupjashei	-do-	Tongkoi	Evangelist	-do-
10.	Chongjalun	-do-	Tuyangwai-chung	Pastor	-do-
11.	Khupjahen	-do-	Makui	-do-	-do-
12.	Nehkhothang	Kom Kuki	Uibuk	-do-	-do-

North West Area, Southern Section

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Tribe*	*Village*	*Occupation*	*By whom supported*
1.	Pakho	Thadou Kuki	Sempang	Supdt. Pastor	A.B.M.
2.	Maisiging	Kacha Naga	-do-	Evangelist	Ditto.
3.	Hurongpau	Kabui Naga	Sempang	Evangelist	Native support& A.B.M.
4.	Hulenang	-do-	-do-	-do-	Native support.
5.	Keiponpau	-do-	Tamenglong	Pastor	-do-
6.	Dinthuijang	-do-	Boncha-rong Khunou	-do-	-do-
7.	Khinlenang	Kabui Naga	Sempang	Pastor	-do-
8.	Hujengkan	-do-	-do-	School Teacher	-do-
9.	Shingpu	Houte-Mar	Joute Kuki	-do-	-do-
10.	Darlal	-do-	-do-	Pasteor	-do-
11.	Tlura	-do-	Phaipi	-do-	-do-
12.	Darthilal	-do-	Jirishop	-do-	-do-
13.	Sheithang	Thadou Kuki	Lhongchin	School Teacher	A.B.M.
14.	Chongpu	-do-	-do-	Pastor	Native support
15.	Shatpu	Kom Kuki	Langkho-ng Khunou	School Teacher	-do-

The survey of the proposed boundary by Dr. Crozier on behalf of the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur was completed on 5th June 1931, and Dr. Crozier himself was ready to cut the boundary stones as soon as the Political Agent issued his approval of the lines adopted. Mr. Gasper and the President of the Darbar went to Churachandpur on 4th June and they met Dr. Crozier to walk around the proposed boundary. Semthong was also with them, and two Land Revenue officials and Thangkhong, the head Interpreter accompanies the party. The boundary finally agreed upon was marked temporarily, but it had to be demarcated and surveyed by the Land Revenue Office. The following points arose and were settled:

1. The Head Clerk's house would be definitely left outside the boundary.

As this house was one of the buildings included in those for which the Mission was paying rent, it was agreed that no reduction in rent should be made, but that instead the Mission would have the right to the use of the houses occupied by the Lambus and others, near to Dr. Crozier's house.

2. The State Lambus would be provided with other houses outside the Mission boundary as soon as possible.

3. The State would not permit any house to be built within 50 yards of the demarcated boundary.

4. All the group of buildings and the land immediately surrounding them, which were close to and around the Dispensary, such as - the Compounder's Quarters and cook-house, the isolation hut etc., would remain outside the Mission boundary although of course, they were actually within the demarcated area. The inclusion or otherwise of these buildings would be decided later on after the question of the disposal of the hospital buildings was finally settled. The Mission would not occupy land or erect any building within 50 yards of any of these buildings.

5. All the recognised paths which were passing through the demarcated area would be open to traffic of all kinds as in the past and all hill-men and Manipuris would have a 'right of way' over such paths. These paths were:-

(a) The main path coming into the Mission Compound at the Northern end and leaving it at the Southern.

(b) A by-path going East from the football ground to Thinggangphai.

(c) A by-path going East from near the State Doctor's quarters to old Phaihec.

(d) A by-path going South-East to the Khuga Valley from the Southern end of the Mission Compound.

The above report which was signed by the President of the Manipur State Darbar on 10th June 1931, was forwarded to Dr. Crozier informing him that the matter would be laid before the Darbar and His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur for their final orders. Mr. Harvey also reminded Dr. Crozier that matters were not yet finally settled and until a proper Lease was executed nothing should be cut down, demolished or erected on the land which did not actually belong to the Mission.

After Dr. Crozier had severed all connections with the Leper Settlement at Kangpokpi, Pettigrew was much worried about a proper supervision of the Institution which was of course put under a temporary inspection of the Civil Surgeon until a new medical missionary was to arrive in October 1931. On 10th November Pettigrew reported to Mr. Higgins

that Walter R. Werelius, M.D., who was the new medical missionary and his wife had arrived at Kangpokpi. As already understood by the Manipur State Darbar, Dr. Werelius came to take the place of the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur. With the arrival of Dr. Werelius at Kangpokpi the history of the American Baptist Mission in Manipur became a field of confusion and chaos both in its internal administration and missionary activities.

During 1930-31, there occurred an unrest connected with the rise of Jadonang, a Kabui Naga. This uprising could have been brought under control earlier, if the Sub-Divisional Officers were left in their Sub-Division instead of being brought into Imphal. There was a good reason to hold that the removal of the S.D.Os from the hills was the main cause of these troubles, the Administration being once more out of touch with the hill tribes.[3] Accordingly, the north-west or Tamenglong Sub-Division was re-opened in October 1932, and from 1st May, next year, a new arrangement was made whereby the hills were divided into 3 Sub-Divisions, viz., Sadar, Ukhrul and Tamenglong, an arrangement which remained in force upto 1947. The President of the Manipur State Darbar was himself in charge of the Sadar Sub-Division while at the same time he was being responsible for the administration of the whole hill area. From 1933, a Manipuri Assistant was appointed with the powers of a First Class Magistrate, and he was supposed to relieve the President of all the ordinary works of the Sadar Sub-Division. These arrangements certainly affected the areas covered by the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur. Because early in September 1932, Rev. Paul Rostad made a reference to the re-opening of the Sub-Divisional Head Quarters at Churachandpur. He reported to Captain Harvey that although they liked very much to remain at Churachandpur, if the Mission were not given the site of the Fort buildings, there was no room for their School buildings on top of the hill, and in that case it was best for them to consider removing elsewhere. The Fort side was the main desire of the Mission to possess. Paul Rostad even wishes to cancel their tour programme to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, if the Mission were ordered to move from the Fort side.

Captain Harvey immediately reported the Secretary of the North East India General Mission that the Sub-Divisional head quarters would be re-opened at Churachandpur on 1st April 1934, and therefore, the Mission was required to vacate all the State buildings before that date.[4] But one of the terms of the proposed lease which would have come into force had the State not decided to re-open the Sub-Division was that, the State would be prepared to consider the question of reasonable compensation being paid to the Mission for any improvement that they might have made to the existing buildings, provided these improvements were necessary for the purposes for which the buildings were originally erected by the State. It was on this ground that the Secretary of the Mission was requested to communicate a list of all such improvements, because the President of the Manipur State Darbar was to visit Churachandpur with an Overseer and he wanted to discuss the value of the improvements with the concerned officials of the Mission. One of the conditions imposed on the Mission was that there would be no objection to their removing any buildings, structures or fittings etc., which were the property of the Mission, provided the places or buildings for which they were removed were not damaged and were left in more or less the same condition as before such additions were made.

The re-occupation of the Sub-Division and its buildings certainly necessitated the removal of the head quarters of the Mission and for this, Captain Harvey wanted to know from the Mission any site they proposed to remove, if the site was of course, within the State boundary. He suggested their removal to Lakhipur, or in the existing circumstances, he said, arrangements could be made for a special permission to be given to the Mission or any other American or European members of the Mission to enter the hills of the State wherever they might desire. The Fort buildings were the property of the Government authorities and very shortly it was to be re-occupied by the military.[5] Therefore, Major Wright was also of opinion that the Government should not contemplate moving the Fort elsewhere.

Although the Mission sent out some men to find a

suitable location it seemed rather hard to find a place with good drinking water. Paul Rostad wanted to know from Captain Harvey whether permission could be granted to them immediately to start clearing the compound if they found a suitable place within two or three weeks. But in case they could not locate in near future, he wondered if the existing compound could be divided. For instance, the Mission could occupy the Office building for their bungalow and for their compound with the land to the north; so that the Government might possess the Mission's bungalow with the land to the south which of course, included to Fort buildings and the State Hospital.

After looking at several places around Churachandpur, Paul Rostad finally selected a place just about one mile to the south of the existing Mission compound as being the most suitable place for their Mission headquarters. It was the very spot previously selected by their Mission Home Delegation during February 1929. There was good water near-by and the School boys had, under instructions already started cutting some of the jungle. The Mission felt anxious to receive permission as soon as possible, so that they might be able to go ahead with School and hostel buildings etc. The Political Agent however said that he could not pass any definite orders regarding the new site proposed by the Mission during the absence of the President of the Darbar who was then in Shillong on official duties. Yet in anticipation of the President's orders, the Political Agent instructed Paul Rostad at least to obtain a permission from the village Chief under whose control the land was situated.[6]

Mr. J. C. Robbins who was the Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Mission intended to visit Assam from January 19th to March 2nd, 1933. Mrs. Robbins and her Lady Secretary, Miss Campbell were to accompany him. The following account of the planned tour of Dr. Robbins in Manipur would be interesting to note as to the condition of the road communications existed in Manipur during the time.

From the information given to Dr. Robbins by Mr. Cope, a missionary of the American Baptist Mission at Tiddem, the former decided to travel from Imphal to Tiddem and he

expected Pettigrew to accompany him to the frontier station of Leinakot (?) where Mr. Cope would meet him. Dr. Robbins planned to leave Imphal on the morning of 2nd March. Here is an extract of Mr. Cope's letter to Dr. Robbins:

> In case you want to be sure of the road from Manipur, I have asked two Chins who go through there quite often, and they tell me the road is all right. A man came through on a cycle the other day. It will take 5 days of hard travel and 7 days of easy travel to Tiddem. The motor cars can get as far as Su Ka Du (this was probably Shugnu) very easily and in March it might be they can get to Tapei. These are 15 miles apart. The next day is Khua Lian, 15 miles, and then a double into Leinakot (?) of over 20 miles which is the first village on our side. From there it will be three double stages to Tiddem, not hard ones.[7]

Pettigrew however could not accept the above statement furnished by Mr. Cope as correct and authentic. He said that he had never heard lorries going as far as Tapei wherever that was, nor had he ever heard that they could get to Shugnu 'very easily' even in March. When Pettigrew went that way some time ago via Waikhong, he found the road from Waikhong to Shugnu anything but easy for the car. He therefore, wished to obtain some accurate information from the State Engineer Mr. Jeffery who could assure Dr. Robbins to enable him to go upto Shugnu, 41 miles in one day. He also wanted to know definitely in writing before 26th October 1932, whether the places and the distances mentioned by Mr. Cope were correct. He requested the Manipur State Darbar to erect *paraos* between Shugnu and Leinakot and a supply of coolies to take Dr. Robbins and himself to the latter place on the dates he mentioned.

Pettigrew had rendered his services not only in the propagation of the Christian religion among the various tribes of the hill areas of Manipur, but also toward a construction of a better society in matters of communication of postal services, educational enlightenment among the illiterate hills and valley population, and mainly in the cure of the greatest enemy of mankind—leprosy. The Kangpokpi Leper Asylum was one of his great contributions for all subjects of the Manipur State. It was through his ceaseless efforts and great perseverance that the Leper Asylum took its final shape and started functioning to save the old curse of a human disease. Upto the residence of Dr. Crozier who worked hand-in-hand with Pettigrew at the Kangpokpi

Asylum there was a congenial atmosphere between the missionaries. But when Dr. Werelius came in place of Dr. Crozier to take charge of the Asylum, something wrong occurred. Pettigrew did not mention anything about his individual relationship with Dr. Werelius, but he wrote a brief letter to Captain Harvey which was self-explanatory:

> The Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi, its correspondence, its files, accounts, vouchers etc., have from to-day (28th November, 1932) been handed over to W. R. Werelius, M. D., our Medical Missionary at Kangpokpi, and all correspondence and financial matters will be dealt by him direct in future. The November bill for the monthly grant-in-aid to the Kangpokpi Leper Asylum will be sent by Dr. Werelius.
>
> I have no more connection with the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi.[8]

In November 1932, when Captain Harvey came back from Shillong he could not immediately see the new site, and therefore, the Head Lambu at Churachandpur who was a representative of the Mission and Semthong altogether went there to discuss the matter. Captain Harvey received a report from Semthong who said that he had no objection to the top of the ridge where the Mission was planning to build their headquarters. But he objected to the Mission's having land on the further side of the small stream which ran along the northern side where the Mission wanted to keep a play-ground. He also objected to the portion of the land down the slope of the hill on the western side for their gardens.[9]

Regarding the fixation of the rent for occupation of this land, Mr. Duncan an Assistant to the President of the Darbar expressed that the terms should be more definite than the terms of the Kangpokpi Mission. Whatever rental was paid by the Mission was for the occupation of the land as Mission compound. In other words, the land was settled with them on their undertaking to pay to the State the rental fixed on it regularly. If however, any of the settlers cultivated land outside the Mission compound, revenue had to be assessed separately on their cultivations. As far as wet rice cultivation was concerned, it was practically certain that they should not escape assessment. But, if and when the Mission workers cultivated jhum land outside the Mission boundary, even though the land belonged to Semthong or some other Chief or they paid *lousal* to the owner of the land, an amount, of Rs. 3 for house-tax which was in lieu of land revenue had

to be assessed on all such jhum cultivations according to the rules in force for the assessment of house-tax. In connection with this subject of rent Captain Harvey received a letter from Mr. Coleman wherein he stated:

> Our agreement sanctioned by the Maharaja of Manipur and the Darbar plainly states the terms providing the sale is not made to the Mission and states that the rental of Rs. 360 shall be charged per annum as rental and the balance returned to the Mission.[10]

The first two months of the year 1933 were a period of trouble for the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur. The cause of the trouble was based on one Thangneilal S. Ngurte who was very much like Watkin R. Roberts and Pastor H. K. Dohnuna. The circumstances under which the man had stirred trouble and enmity among members of the Mission were as follows.[11]

When Captain Harvey had visited Churachandpur during the last September 1932, he asked the Rostads if they had any objection to his employing Thangneilal S. Ngurte who was one of the dismissed workers of the Mission, in the State Forest Department. The Rostads told Captain Harvey, in the presence of Mr. Kaith the State Forest Officer, that they would have no objection to his employing Thangneilal so long as he did not work in the Mission area. Pettigrew also preferred him not to be posted in the north west area of the American Baptist Mission, as he, with Paul Rostad, believed that this man would cause trouble amongst their converts.[12]

Thangneilal had been a worker under Dr. Crozier in the American Baptist Mission, but when the latter joined the North East India General Mission in January 1931, he brought Thangneilal with him to work as his Clerk. On 25th April 1932, Thangneilal wrote to Mrs. Ella Rostad a very insulting letter which was sent to the General Secretary of the Mission in America for action. Early in June of the year the Rostads received a cable message with instructions to dismiss Thangneilal which they did. It was for this reason that they did not want him to work in the Mission area as he was considered an enemy to the Mission and they had every reason to believe that he would endeavour to stir up the old-Mission-trouble of 1929-30 afresh.

The Rostads were away from the State for three months and returned to Churachandpur on 4th February 1933. On their return they learnt that Thangneilal had been touring through the Mission area at Churachandpur with Mr. Kaith, and that Thangneilal wrote letters to some former dissatisfied people and also, on their behalf, to Pettigrew in which he gave a list of names of certain persons to be communicated with. His letter to Pettigrew was dated 15th January 1933:

> As R. Thoma of Hmar wish to know definite word about the Mission Field as his requested am sending him with Paupu for consultation. He is fit to be one of the leader for his people and trustworthy for communication, with you please communicate with him. This man can stand for his area. He is also anxious to know of this definitely. I know this man for many years.
>
> Firstly communication should be marked with under below persons:
>
> 1. Chawnga of Senvawm, Evangelist.
> 2. Pastor Khuma of Vangai Area.
> 3. Thangngur of Tinsuang, Teacher.
> 4. R. Thoma of Tinsuang.
> 5. Khuonga of Pherzawl, Evangelist.
> 6. Pastor Kambuong of Lakhipur.
> 7. Pastor Tlurpu of Kuokluong, Lakhipur.
> 8. Rova, Evangelist of Buthangkhal.
> 9. Dr. Thanglur of Lakhipur.
>
> These are amiable leaders at present for the Hmar people. (Sic)[13]

Thangneilal requested R. Thoma to forward the above letter to Pettigrew on 15th January:

> *Ka lekha hi ihmu pha pha inrangtakin phaia Paupu kuoma Pettigrew in hmu pui ding hung ro. Lakhipur Biel inpekna lekha ahung tlungta. A. B. tier.*
>
> *Damla Iuanau*
> *Thangneilal S. Ngurte.*
>
> *Hilekha pakhat hi Pettigrew inpek ding a kaziek ani.*
>
> [As soon as you receive my letter come quickly to Imphal to Paupu to see together Mr. Pettigrew. The letter of Lakhipur Area of (Giving) Going over to the A. B. is received (Sic).
>
> Damla your brother
> Thangneilal S. Ngurte.
>
> I wrote this one letter for you to give Mr. Pettigrew (Sic).[14]

Most of the people who called themselves Independents were slowly coming back to the Mission. Among the names

mentioned in Thangneilal's letter people like Pastor Khuma, Chawnga of Senvong, and R. Thoma came back into fellowship with the Mission during September and October 1932.

REFERENCES

1. Letter No. B. C. 31-1, from the Honorary Secretary, Burma Christian Council, Rangoon, to the Chief Secretary, Government of Burma, Home and Political Department, dated 30th January 1931.
2. Political Department Letter No. 270B 28, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, Sagaing Division, dated 9th February 1931.
3. See Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam*, 1883-1941, A. G. P. (G. S.) No. 14, April 1942, p. 87. See also M. Bhattacharyya, *Gazetter of Manipur State*, p. 308.
4. Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 6 A of the 30th April 1930.
5. Memo No. 1221/Hill XXIV-3, from Captain Harvey, President of the Manipur State Darbar to the Secretary, North East India General Mission, dated Imphal 24th September 1932.
6. Memo No. 2337-M. S., from J. C. Higgins, P. A. in Manipur to Rev. Paul Rostad, Churachandpur, dated Imphal the 9th October 1932.
7. Cited in Rev. Pettigrew's letter to Mr. J. C. Higgins, dated 22nd October 1932.
8. Letter from Rev. William Pettigrew to C. W. L. Harvey, P. M. S. D., dated Kangpokpi 28th November 1932.
9. D. O. No. 1679/Hill XXIV-3, from C. W. L. Harvey to Rev. Paul Rostad, dated Imphal 29th November 1932.
10. Cited in a letter from Rev. Paul Rostad, Churachandpur to Captain Harvey, dated 4th January 1933; see also Resolution No. 6A of the Manipur State Darbar of 30th April 1930.
11. D. O. No. 2328/Hill XXIV-3, from G. P. Stewart to Rev. Paul Rostad, dated Imphal the 10th February 1933.
12. Hill Office Memo No. 1554/Hill XXIX-11, by C. W. L. Harvey, copy of the same forwaded to the State Forest Officer, dated 17th November 1932.
13. Letter from Thangneilal S. Ngurte, Orphe Alal Kuki to Rev. William Pettigrew, A. B. Mission, Kangpokpi, dated 15th January 1933.
14. Letter from Thangneilal S. Ngurte to R. Thoma, dated Imphal 15th January 1933.

TWENTY THREE

Pettigrew's Retirement from Missionary Career

In February 1933, Mr. Stewart made a promise to Paul Rostad to do his best for an extension of time in vacating the buildings at Churachandpur, in the event of orders being received to open the new Sub-Divisional headquarters. Now after two months orders came from the Government to re-open the Sub-Divisions by the 1st of May 1933, and as such the Rostads were requested to vacate the buildings without further delay. Actually the Mission was using the smaller room as their Dispensary and they made a small addition on the verandah for the Post Office. The State building had been remodelled into a bungalow while Dr. Crozier was there, and upto the first week of April 1933, all his furniture was still in this building. Dr. Werelius of Kangpokpi and Mr. Supplee of Kohima were to take charge of removing the same to Dr. Crozier.

On behalf of the Mission, Mr. Duncan however made an approach to the President of the Darbar with the following points for consideration:

1. If Churachandpur were not to be re-occupied as Sub-Divisional headquarters, the missionaries might be allowed to continue occupying them as before.

2. The term of agreement was for 3 years which expired in May 1933. This term might be extended for another 3 years before the State authorities finally decided to sell the buildings to the Mission, if they did have to sell them.

3. If it were agreed not to re-occupy the Churachandpur buildings, a letter might be written to Paul Rostad telling him that he could remain in occupation and, if they were allowed to re-occupy the Sub-Divisional buildings the repairs to the roof might be carried out by the missionaries themselves.

It was not very certain whether the Sub-Divisional head-quarters would be re-opened exactly before 1st May 1933, and therefore, the State authorities were somehow endeavouring to arrange things so that the missionaries would not vacate the buildings. Churachandpur itself was now included in the Sadar Sub-Division and the State authorities did not propose to open an office immediately except the posting of several additional Lambus there.[1]

In a previous Darbar resolution of 30th April 1930, mention was made about the rents to be paid by the North East India General Mission when the S.D.O's bungalow, S.D.O's Office and the Head Clerk's quarters at Churachandpur were leased to the Mission. But upto the middle of August 1933, no final arrangement could be made and as a result another Darbar resolution was passed by the Political Agent of Manipur:

> The Darbar do not consider that the State should maintain the buildings in the meantime. If the Mission has to evacuate the 3 buildings, they will only be asked to pay the absurdly low rental of Rs. 30 a month. If they purchase the buildings, the rentals already paid at the rate of Rs. 50 a month will be taken as part of the purchase price. It, therefore, seems fair that the burden of maintenance should fall upon the Mission.
>
> The Darbar understand that up to date no rent has been paid at all. The Hill Office should now demand the arrear rent at the rate of Rs. 50 a month, and continue to realise Rs. 50 a month until a final decision is made.[2]

Exactly one year after his severance with the Leper Asylum at Kangpokpi, Pettigrew wrote a letter to Mr. Gimson on 8th November 1933:-

> This is to inform you that owing to the critical condition of Mrs. Pettigrew's health, and her immediate return to England or America, and owing to medical advice I must accompany her to render assistance. I am leaving Manipur tomorrow morning (9th November, 1933) for Calcutta and home.
>
> Rev. J. E. Tanquist has taken over temporary charge of my particular work pending my return to Manipur after six months or less. Please address all correspondence to him at this address, and hand over to him the monthly Grant-in-Aid for education of our Mission Schools, viz., Rs. 125 per month. This is to include the grant for the month of October 1933, which has not yet been paid.

After he left Manipur Pettigrew never came back in spite of his earnest desire and efforts to obtain permission to enter the State. It was apparently a forced retirement imposed on

him with undue acknowledgement by his fellow missionaries. The final stamp on his retirement was put in the first week of December 1933, by the Education Standing Committee of Manipur. By virtue of his dedicated labour and great enthusiasm both in the upliftment of education in Manipur and his keen interest in the development of Manipuri language and literature he had been appointed a special member of the Education Standing Committee of the State. Before his final departure he also informed the Chairman of the Committee who made the following approval on 1st December:-

> Read Mr. W. Pettigrew's letter dated 8th November 1933, informing the Chairman of this Committee that he will be away from India for six months on account of Mrs. Pettigrew's serious illness.
>
> This Committee recommends that Rev. J. E. Tanquist who is said to have taken over the charge of the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi be requested to sit temporarily on the Committee.

Around nine months after he left the State, Miksha Tangkhul who was the Head Master of the Kangpokpi Mission School received a telegram from Pettigrew stating as follows:

> Society sanctions my return expect to arrive Manipur November inform all areas and Political Agent.[3]

By this time Pettigrew was in New York and the message of the above telegram was actually submitted by W. R. Werelius who was the missionary-in-charge of the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi to the Political Agent of Manipur on 21st July 1934. The circumstances under which Pettigrew had been placed on the retired list was simply put into effect by a Notification of the Board of Managers held on September 17th and 18th, 1934:

> In view of the rule of the Board that the continuance in service of a missionary who has reached the age of sixty-five must receive affirmative action both of the Reference Committee and of the Board, and in view of the fact that the Assam Reference Committee does not now take such affirmative action,
>
> VOTED--that the Board reconsider its action of June 25, 1934, and that Rev. W. Pettigrew be placed on the retired list. The Board would express its very great appreciation of the 38 years of devoted and most fruitful service of Rev. and Mrs. Pettigrew in Manipur, Assam.[4]

In a small news sheet called "Christian Pao" published by the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi during September 1934, two small lines were mentioned - 'No word has

been received of Mr. Pettigrew's return. Dr. Crozier is assisting his Pastor in a large Church in Cleveland, Ohio".[5]

Actually Pettigrew was put on the retired list on account of the unfortunate attitude taken by Dr. and Mrs. Werelius in their opposition to his return, and to the opposition of certain members of the Assam Reference Committee. The action of the Board of Managers in June last authorising his return was based on the fact that the Baptist Christian community of Manipur made a strong appeal to the Board of Managers to send him back to the State. When Dr. and Mrs. Werelius also raised no objection to his return, Pettigrew had packed all his stuff for Manipur and sent them to New York to be despatched to Calcutta before he received news from Assam. He was with his children in and around Boston, and after having gone to New York he was to take out the manuscripts of the *Archaic Meitei.* But Dr. Robins in his covering letter of 18th September 1934, wrote to Pettigrew as follows:-

> I have already expressed to you my very great personal regrets that the present action of the Reference Committee made it impossible for the Board to return you to Manipur, where I personally am convinced that you could have rendered one more term of effective service in that Field where you and Mrs. Pettigrew have already given such devoted, sacrificial and fruitful services.[6]

The mournful impact caused by the forced retirement of Pettigrew on the Christians of Manipur was described by Mr. T. Luikham, who was one time the Superintending Pastor of the American Baptist Mission in the north east area, eastern section:-

> It was a great shock to all of us when the news of Mrs. Pettigrew's death came to Manipur. Many motherly services she had so affectionately bestowed upon us during her stay in the hills.
>
> In spite of his advanced age and his personal grief, Mr. Pettigrew was firmly determined to return and take up his unfinished work. We were deeply disappointed when news came that due to unknown circumstances he had to give up this plan, for the Manipur Christians were anxiously waiting for his return.
>
> In 1935 reports came from America that the cause of his failure to return was his unpopularity among the Manipur Christians. Therefore, T. Luikham took up the challenge and contradicted the report. So trouble arose among the Christian workers and among the missionaries because of the cancellation of his return. It was a big loss to us not to get the many blessings of our beloved missionary. We are sure that

his coming back to work in our midst would have far outshone his previous works though they were dazzling enough.

Suspicion arose among the leaders as to the real cause of the trouble and the Christians seemed to be divided into two camps. At last an amicable compromise was reached. Mr. Pettigrew's age, and not the previously ascribed unpopularity was given as the deciding factor in his inability to return. His unfinished work was left to be done by others and the difficulty in carrying out these numerous works was clearly felt by us.[7]

In 1931, Pettigrew had despatched some specimen of the archaic Meitei language to the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal with some comments, a rough grammar and part of a vocabulary. His forwarding letter was dated 31st March, and was addressed to Dr. Johan van Manen by name. He hoped that either the General Secretary or some other expert would criticise the form and matter of the notes etc., and that the General Secretary would advise him on the manner in which the material supplied could be best presented in a monograph. By August 1933, the Political Agent of Manipur again requested the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society to go through those papers and to give the benefit of his advice. If he could not do that he was requested to return the papers either to Pettigrew or to the Political Agent, since the former was likely to leave India within two or three years and he wished to put more work into the study of the Archaic Meitei.

During August 1933, Johan van Manen was out of India on a short leave and he was expected back towards the end of September. Therefore, Mr. S. L. Hora who was the officiating General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal requested their Philological Secretary Dr. S. K. Chatterji who was an eminent linguist and philologist to look through Pettigrew's manuscript and render suitable assistance. Dr. Chatterji himself considered the work of the greatest value deserving an early publication. He was willing to make suggestions with regard to the arrangement, format, type etc., and to help with the publication of the work as best as might be in his power.

According to Dr. Chatterji the plan of the work as proposed by the author seemed quite excellent. He suggested that the grammar portion might come first, then the *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* in the style proposed by Pettigrew

(transliteration of the manuscript, modern Manipuri version, word for word English translation and free English translation), and finally the glossary (early Manipuri, current Manipuri and English in parallel columns). Instead of the archaic Manipuri, Dr. Chatterji wanted the language treated to be called 'early Manipuri'. Being not even three hundred years old, this form of Manipuri was only an early form of modern Manipuri. Karlgren and other scholars who investigated the pronunciation and grammar of the Chinese described Chinese of c.500 A.D. as 'ancient Chinese', and Chinese of the centuries B.C. (say 500 B.C.) as 'archaic Chinese'. Although there was no objection to employing the term 'Archaic' to mean a slightly ancient or old fashioned form of a language as current during the day, it was nevertheless better to use 'Early', as usually the work 'archaic' conveyed, in science, the notion of remote antiquity.

Regarding the tone marks in the book, Dr. Chatterji suggested that it was better to leave the middle tone unmarked, and to use - (at the bottom of the line) for the low tone, and - (at the top of the line) for the high tone. There were some confusions whether these were merely *even* tones, or rising or falling tones (i.e., whether these were - and - merely, or and , or and). Both tone marks could come *before* the syllables in which they occurred:- -ma (or ma, ma?), -ma (or m, ma?), otherwise in printing there was bound to be confusion, the tone mark attaching itself to the wrong syllable, and reading would be difficult. The reason why it was preferable to have tone-mark on the left hand side of the syllable was that before the reader came to the syllable in question for an actual pronunciation, he could be warned beforehand as to the tone which was such a ticklish thing in languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family.

Giving a brief comment on the pronunciation of the proposed monograph, Dr. Chatterji wrote:

> Following as far as practicable the principles of having one letter for one distinct sound, it would be desirable to use only c for ch. K being used consistently for the guttural unvoiced stop, c is released, and has rightly been adopted for the ch sound in a proper system of transliteration for Indian and other languages. The present cumbrous combination chh can then be simplified into ch. Similarly, for ng (as in sing) a single letter n or would be preferable. The digraph *ng* in English

represents two sounds, e.g., simple guttural nasal as in si (sing) and as in si gr (singer). So n can be used for *ny* and *s* or *s* for sh. This will simplify the transliteration, and bring it in line with the other languages of India.[8]

It was necessary to have a longer Note on the pronunciation in the grammar portion as well as the interrelation between pronunciation and orthography of the monograph. Another note on the old Meitei alphabet from some specialist in epigraphy was also essential. Dr. Chatterji suggested the name of N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum to prepare such a note, because he was an acknowledged authority in Indian epigraphy and antiquities.

While photographic representations of some of the pages from the original manuscript was a welcome embellishment of the book, the grammar portion could be enlarged considerably even at the risk of repeating rules and usages current in modern Manipuri. Because this would not only render the work independent but it would not look a mere pendant to a grammar of modern Manipuri.

At the request of Dr. Hora and the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Chatterji put down the suggestions for what they were worth, although he was not a specialist in the Tibeto-Chinese. But against the wishes of the Society for a speedy termination of Pettigrew's work on the archaic Meitei, Mr. Gimson informed the Honorary Assistant Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of Assam during the last week of November, 1933, that Pettigrew had to leave Manipur suddenly on account of the serious illness of his wife. Pettigrew actually hoped that he might return in about six months, but this was not certain. So his absence meant that the monograph on the archaic Meitei was to be held up for some time.

REFERENCES

1. D.O. No. 156-Hill, from G. P. Stewart to Rev. Paul Rostad, dated 21st April 1933.
2. See Manipur State Darbar Resolution No. 7(A) of 16th August 1933.
3. Cited in a letter by W. R. Werelius, Missionary-in-Charge, American Baptist Mission, Kangpokpi to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Kangpokpi, 21st July 1934.
4. Letter from J. C. Robins to Rev. W. Pettigrew, Boston, Massachusetts, dated 18th September 1934.

5. Adapted from *Christian Pao*, a news sheet printed in Manipuri language with Roman Character, p. 2.
6. Letter *op. cit.* dated 18th September 1934.
7. T. Luikham, *A Short History of the Manipur Baptist Christian Golden Jubilee*, p. 39.
8. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Philological Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Remarks on the Archaic Meitei Language Monograph*, Calcutta, dated 18th September 1933.

TWENTY-FOUR

Haipou Jadonang & Representations of the Holy See, Rome

During September 1934, a discussion took place in the Home Department, Government of India regarding a proposal that the procedure embodied in Memoranda A,B,C for controlling the entry of foreign missionaries into India might be discontinued. This Memoranda had been forwarded to the different State authorities of India by the Home Department some time in January 1926. Now after a lapse of nine years, the Government of India again considered whether any practical advantage was derived from the existing procedure for controlling the admission of foreign missionaries into India or whether they could dispense with that procedure. The Government therefore wanted to know the following informations from all the States in India:

1. Whether any recent instances came to the Local Government's knowledge of alien missionaries indulging in undesirable propaganda, or,

2. Whether there were any cases in which the Local Government had either raised objections to a missionary belonging to any unrecognised Society being allowed to come to India in the first instance or refused to grant a non-objection certificate to a missionary going on leave.

The Government of India requested the Governor in Council, of the Government of Assam to furnish their views as to whether the procedure embodied in the Memoranda could be maintained or not.[1] This document was again forwarded to the Political Agent of Manipur for advice during December 1934, to which Mr. Gimson replied:

> I consider it essential that the control over Missions should be retained in the Backward Tracts. Even as it is, Messiahs have arisen with uncomfortable frequency in recent years among the Kabui and the Kacha Nagas; and a little additional financial backing, such as an

undesirable Mission might provide, might produce very serious unrest among the wilder tribes.

Probably control is less necessary in the plains Districts. In the hills the necessary control could be retained even if the existing procedure is discontinued. I only urge that the need for power to control is imperative.[2]

The Messiahs referred to in Mr. Gimson's letter flashed a long historical background among the Kabui and the Kacha Nagas particularly to an incident of an uprising by a Kabui Naga called Haipou Jadonang. He was born in 1905 at Kambiron (Puiron) village. As he grew up in the richness of the animistic traditions among his tribal brethren and villagers he felt inclined to revive the ancient authority of tribal law and custom which was inevitably breaking down under the far-reaching and dominant impact of Christianity. After having established himself as a very deeply religious man, he claimed himself a Messiah King of the Nagas to liberate his country from the rules of the British administration over his people. In February 1931, the Assam Government recorded the following account:

A Kabui Naga named Jadonang (living at a village, Kambiron, on the Cachar-Imphal bridle path) has proclaimed a Kabui Naga Raj. He is supposed to have powers of a sorcerer, and the Kacha Nagas, believing that he is the Messiah for whom they have been waiting, have sent him as tribute large numbers of *Mithuns*, the semi-demesticated gayals which are a sign of wealth among some of the Assam hill tribes and used for marriage gifts etc.

Large assemblies of Nagas have been held at a village marked Nangkhai where Jadonang has been treated as a God. The Kukis, who during the Kuki Rebellion in 1918 cut up many villages of the Kabui Nagas are afraid of reprisals and some of them have already come into Imphal for safety. According to the Kukis, Jadonang is collecting guns with the intention of attacking them. The Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, also has received information that Jadonang has given out that revenue may be paid this year but it is to be paid to him in 1931-32.

The Political Agent in Manipur sent out a State official to arrest Jadonang, but on news being received that the latter had gone to Cachar with some followers, he wired to the Depufy Commissioner, Cachar, to arrest him and news has now been received that Jadonang has been arrested in Cachar under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. He is being taken back to Manipur under an extradition warrant.[3]

The Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills reported more fully on 16th March 1931, on the claims made by Jadonang as follows:-

Jadonang's claim appears to be connected with the old Naga tradition of a Messiah King to which Dr. Hutton refers on page 252 of his *Angami Nagas*. There is no evidence, however, that the Angamis are involved in the present trouble. On the contrary, Jadonang has expressed his dislike of them, clearly regarding them as oppressive overlords of the Kacha Nagas and Kabuis.

His claims as a healer were probably only a bait to attract adherents, as invalids who went with the humble offering of a rupee were told that not much could be done for them, but that their village ought to send in more substantial tribute in the form of a *Mithun*. He is universally spoken as 'The King' or 'The Spirit King'.[4]

Haipou Jadonang was arrested on 19th February 1931, and by the middle of May, the Assam Government reported that Jadonang, the instigator of all the troubles, was under trial in the Court of the Political Agent of Manipur, with a number of men of Kambiron and neighbouring villages, for the murder of four Manipuri traders who had disappeared about March 1930. He was tried on the charge of murder and sentenced to death on 13th June 1931. He was hanged on 29th August 1931, on the bank of the Nambul River just behind the Imphal Jail.[5] It was in the light of these unprecedental incident that Mr. Gimson wanted to retain the full exercise of the Memoranda abovementioned.

During the absence of Pettigrew from Manipur progress on the work of the archaic Meitei monograph was hampered as because the new missionary-in-charge at Kangpokpi did not know anything about the papers connected with the work. When Mr. Gimson made an enquiry to Dr. Werelius at Kangpokpi the latter confessed that both he and Mr. Tanquist had no information about the monograph and they, therefore, proposed to ask direct from Pettigrew. But an answer from him could not be received before three months. Mr. Tanquist of Kohima made a plan to visit Kangpokpi some time in the last week of May 1934, and he promised to look through the files to see if the documents were in the open. But it was most likely that Pettigrew considered the papers too valuable to leave around without giving special instructions about them. The reason why the frantic search began on the papers of the monograph was that, Mr. Gimson wanted Yumjao Singh to continue the work who intended to finish it on the lines already chalked out. Upto August 1934, Mr. Gimson was still of the opinion that Pettigrew would

come out again in November, and he felt sure that he would be eager to take up the work again. When the expected time came, Mr. Gimson understood that Pettigrew would not return to India after all and the manuscript of the monograph was with him in America.

Pettigrew was actually disappointed in not being able to return for another term of service in Manipur. He was looking forward to carry on the work of the archaic Meitei in collaboration with Yumjao Singh and complete it before he finally retired from the Mission service. It was most difficult for him to give up the idea altogether, and in view of a decision to live permanently in England, he wrote a suggestion to Mr. Gimson during February 1935. He wondered if it were not possible for the material which must be done from the State Office of Manipur and through Yumjao Singh to be sent to him by post regularly, and the editing, correcting and putting through the press there in London. He had ample time for this kind of work and he thought it would be a most congenial task. Not only time, but first hand opportunity to use the British Museum and the India Office Library for possible material were needed to help through the publication.[6]

But according to Mr. Gimson the best plan would be for Pettigrew to return the whole manuscript at once. Then Yumjao Singh could get on with the work as far as he was able. When he finished, and if it were necessary to consult Pettigrew for a final revision the manuscript could be sent to him. Mr. Gimson suggested this course because all the spade work had to be done in Manipur and there would be less delay if all the papers were in the State.

Just on the eve of the completion of the monograph the first controversy on the authorship claim was raised by Yumjao Singh with three personal objections. First, why Pettigrew who knew thoroughly well everything about the working on the preparation of the manuscript should have mentioned in one of his letters to Mr. Gimson, the State Office at all. Second, in *Bulletin No. 2* published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, the following remark was printed:

> On the recommendation made by Mr. J. C. Higgins, while Political Agent, Manipur, the Department decided to finance the compilation

of some valuable Meithi manuscripts brought to light by the members of the American Baptist Mission stationed at Imphal. But the work has been held up at present as Rev. W. Pettigrew, who was entrusted with it has to remain absent from Manipur on account of the illness of Mrs. Pettigrew. Mr. C. Gimson, now Political Agent, Manipur, is taking great interest in the work, and we hope it will be brought to completion within the near future. We are glad to note that Mr. Wahengbam Yumjao Singh, a Manipuri scholar, is helping in the preparation of the above monograph.[7]

Third, why Dr. S. K. Chatterji who reviewed the manuscript on behalf of the Asiatic Society of Bengal had not heard the name of Yumjao Singh in connection with the monograph.

As was verbally settled that the work would be published in the joint authorship of Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh, the latter naturally demanded a copy of the document in which the part he would take was officially settled. Mr. Gimson was, however unable to trace any official document recording specifically the parts assigned to Yumjao Singh and Pettigrew in the preparation of the monograph. But it was quite certain that Pettigrew could not have made much progress on the monograph without Yumjao's help, and this was clearly acknowledged in his letter of 20th July 1924.

In May 1935, Pettigrew received his goods from the United States, but he found some material missing. He thought he might have left them in a box he packed with office material at Kangpokpi. Immediately he sent message to Dr. Tuttle, the Mission Treasurer at Gauhati to sell and dispose of his furniture except his personal library and other office materials. As soon as his library arrived he promised to see what was absolutely necessary for Yumjao Singh to get along with the transliteration etc. Actually Yumjao Singh had the bulk of the script and Pettigrew only a few pages of it - and nothing he could do would prevent Yumjao Singh from going on with the transliteration. In any case Pettigrew liked to put his final O. K. to the monograph before the final printing.[8]

Mr. Gimson felt sorry to hear that some of the materials of the monograph were missing, and he therefore asked Pettigrew at the beginning of June whether he found the material or not. The Manipur State Darbar also passed a resolution stating that they wanted to have all the papers

immediately returned to Manipur. Because Yumjao Singh and his assistants could get on with the work and when all was ready for a final revision it could be sent to Pettigrew. As instructed by the Darbar, Pettigrew and his wife were hard on the copying out of the material which he had in London. But the few scripts with typewritten transliteration into English, modern Manipuri and archaic Manipuri in the Roman character which he left at Kangpokpi were to be sought for under the direction of Dr. Tuttle. Pettigrew left them behind knowing at that time that there was every prospect of his returning to Assam within six months. The material he had in London was the manuscript of the monograph which he sent to the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in March 1931. He had typewritten all the material of the archaic Meitei and forwaded the original to Mr. Gimson only on 9th July 1935.

Pettigrew expected more words for the vocabulary from Yumjao Singh, because he intended to gather at least 1,000 words. There were about 600 words at that time and he hoped Yumjao Singh had a further list to be added. The grammar was still incomplete and if Yumjao Singh had any more notes to add Pettigrew wanted to check them up. The historical part of the monograph was also manifestly in the rough and incomplete. Pettigrew and his wife were working on this historical portion in the Reading Room of the British Museum and they hoped to be able to add some interesting matter on it. When the monograph was completed Pettigrew had an earnest desire to have a foreword on it by Sir George Grierson. Yumjao Singh still suspected a seemingly inadvertence on the part of Pettigrew in their joint endeavour on the monograph. As such he again made an enquiry from the Political Agent of Manipur during August 1935, whether Pettigrew would treat him as a mere translator for the work, or whether his name too would appear as a joint author of the monograph. He, however, did not spare any pains to complete the work from his own personal level. Thus in September of the year he reported to Mr. Gimson that an outline grammar of the monograph was prepared and a vocabulary of about 800 words with their English equivalents in the Roman character was completed. About sixteen pages of the

old manuscripts of *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* were translated into the Roman character with an interlineal word-for-word translation in modern Manipuri and English followed by a free translation of each para in English.[9]

By May 1936, Yumjao Singh had thoroughly revised the Introduction, Grammar and Vocabulary portions of the monograph and in many cases he made new insertions. A very decent number of words too were added to the vocabulary and as he proceeded with the translation further words were also expected. In the introductory portion he added some recently deciphered stone inscriptions from Khoibu along with a translation of them with critical notes. More than half of the manuscript of *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* was now transliterated and translated into modern Manipuri and English. The following was the progress report on the monograph submitted by Yumjao Singh during July 1936:-

1. Introduction (Historical) - 15 typed pages.
2. Notes on Grammar - 53 pages.
3. Vocabulary of about 800 words - 55 pages.
4. Interlineal translation into English and modern Manipuri in Roman character with a free translation into English of the manuscript of *Naothingkhong Phamkaba* - 39 leaves.

A general drawback in the steady progress of the work was that in some particular cases the meaning of a word or two was not quite clear even to those who were well acquainted with the literature; and their explanation was not satisfactory at all, in spite of the fact that such words were generally followed by self-explanatory phrases.

In last March 1936, Dr. and Mrs. Werelius received a letter from one Miss Julia A. Rose who was then working with the Croziers in Silchar. Miss Rose was urgently asking Dr. Werelius to let her stay with them as their guest through the coming hot season. Actually she wanted to get away from the heat and to study the Manipuri language in the Middle English School at Kangpokpi under a Manipuri pandit. She promised that during her stay at Kangpokpi she would not engage in any work, missionary or otherwise. Thus on her

behalf, Dr. Werelius requested the Political Agent of Manipur to allow her to stay for five months at Kangpokpi beginning from 1st May, 1936. The Manipur State Darbar showed no objection to her stay in the State and it was approved in their resolution No. 1 of 8th April 1936 under the following:-

> Considered Political Agent's Memo No. 4427, G. A. of 24th March, 1936, asking if the Darbar will allow Miss Julia A. Rose to stay at Kangpokpi for 4 or 5 months with Dr. W. R. Werelius, Medical Officer, A. B. Mission, Kangpokpi.
>
> The Darbar have no objection.

During the later and the early parts of 1936 and 1937 respectively, there occurred a case between Mangkhulum Chief of Songpi (son of late Semthong) and the North East India General Mission.[10] In connection with this case the President of the Manipur State Darbar wanted some previous papers for his perusal, but he felt the history of the matter rather confused owing to the long uncertainty about starting a Sub-Divisional headquarters at Churachandpur. He knew that the main order governing the allotment of a Mission station was the Darbar resolution No. 6A of 30th April 1930. But this applied to the lease of buildings and to the allotment of land in the event of the Mission's being made to evacuate the buildings. In Mr. Coleman's letter of 6th October 1930, the President found that he had arranged an agreement with Semthong, the Chief of Songpi, for transfer of a certain area of land as a Mission compound for Rs. 95. This matter had been referred to the Political Agent who then advised that a compound could be allotted to the Mission by the State under lease and the Semthong should be given compensation for the loss of a portion of his land and for the settlement of the Mission near him. According a draft-lease was made in which Clause III it was laid down that: "the Mission shall pay to Semthong Kuki Chief of Songpi village, Rs. (blank) in consideration of the inconvenience to which he and his villagers have been subjected by the Mission's having taken the land covered by this lease." A copy of this draft-lease had been sent to Mr. H. H. Coleman.

The compensation, it seemed, had to be paid for an inconvenience involved by the Mission's occupation of the land, and it was not the actual price of the land, since Semthong was considered to have no proprietary rights.

After this the main activities were concerned with demarcation of the Mission compound. Captain Harvey also made a suggestion for payment of Rs. 80 to Semthong as compensation for use of land that might have been used by him; but he said that he would confirm this when the question of site was actually settled. Then the whole matter seemed to have been interrupted by the proposal of re-establishing a Sub-Divisional station at Churachandpur which was abortive. Since then no lease had been executed and nothing had been done about the payment of compensation of Songpi village.

Thereafter, Mr. Coleman hurried back to Imphal during January 1938, to discuss matters with the President of the Darbar. He emphasised that there must be some definite understanding as to the limits of the land at Churachandpur over which the Mission had jurisdiction. In other words, he wanted to have some kind of a lease defining the limits of their authority. Because he showed his desire to erect a new Chapel building with iron roof and a Girls' School building. But all these plans were handicapped due to the non-issue of a formal lease by the State authorities of Manipur. According to the President of the Darbar it was not convenient to give the Mission any defined area over which they could exercise authority, but that he was willing to prevent outsiders from building among the Mission buildings without the consent of the General Secretary of the Mission concerned.[11]

The American Baptist Mission granted a furlough to Dr. Werelius from 1st May 1938, and they requested Rev. J. E. Tanquist of Kohima to carry on the work at Kangpokpi during his absence. Mr. Tanquist was expected to run up there from Kohima and camp there for a week or so every month. But he confessed that he did not know how they would manage the medical side of the work until they could make some permanent arrangements. He made a plan to a river at Kangpokpi on 1st April 1938, together with his wife, when Dr. and Mrs. Werelius were to leave Manipur during the same months.[12] Actually Dr. Werelius had no information nor authority to speak on the matter as to an American or European Doctor to take his place, and therefore, he was re-directing letters of the Political Agent to Rev. Tanquist since

he was a member of the Mission Reference Committee taking charge of the work at Kangpokpi, and also a co-opt to Miss Burnham, Secretary to the Mission Reference Committee. Upto the last week of April 1938, Mr. Tanquist was on tour in Darrang and he was expected back in his station during the second week of May.

Mr. Tanquist was a member of the Reference Committee which handled the Mission affairs in Assam. This Committee had no machinery for keeping the Government informed about its actions except through the local missionary in each instant. But it usually took some time before the local missionary was officially notified by the corresponding Secretary, Miss M. Burnham of Gauhati. He was appointed by the Mission to take complete charge of the work at the Kangpokpi station on the departure of Dr. Werelius until such time as a medical doctor would come and take over the medical part of the work. In agreement with Dr. Werelius he took over the financial responsibility from 1st April, 1938. He and Dr. Werelius together made some tentative arrangement with the Civil Surgeon to have the medical work supervised by the State Doctor in charge of the Kangpokpi Dispensary. The arrangement had to become immediately effective on the missionary's notifying him the date from which this should begin, and that the Doctor had to visit the Leper Asylum twice weekly until the Missionary Doctor arrived. Aban Compounder was asked to carry on his work as usual. But the finances and the general conduct of the work were to be supervised by Rev. Tanquist himself. He planned to spend enough time in the station month by month to look after the work properly.

At the Reference Committee meeting held at Gauhati the future staffing of the Kangpokpi station was considered and it was voted to designate Dr. and Mrs. J. A. Ahlquist at Kangpokpi to take over the care of the medical work. They were scheduled to arrive during the last part of October, or the early part of November 1938. Dr. Ahlquist was a highly trained medical Doctor and he had a great deal of experience both in the Garo Hills and in Jorhat. There was every likelihood that his designation at Kangpokpi would be a permanent one, i.e., he might remain for a term of six years until his next furlough.[13]

During January 1938, one D. G. Osborne of the British Legation to the Holy See, Rome, despatched a brief note to the Right Honourable Anthony Eden (M.C., M.P.) under the following manner:

> I have received a note from the Vatican dated January 25th stating that according to information reaching them there is in Imphal, Captial of the Indian Native State of Manipur (described in the *Statesman's Year Book* as a backward Hill State) a group of Catholics, for the most part English officials, who are deprived of the benefits of religious assistance because the British authorities will allow no Catholic priest to enter Manipur.
>
> 2. I am requested to use my good offices to secure permission for a Catholic priest to reside at Imphal or at least to make periodical visits there for the religious benefits of its Catholic residents.[14]

Regarding this representation by the Vatican about the alleged non-admission of Catholic priests in Manipur, Mr. E. M. B. Ingram of the Foreign Office to the India Office made an urgent intimation to the Under Secretary of State, India Office on 5th February 1938:-

> I am directed by Mr. Secretary Eden to transmit to you, to be laid before the Marquis of Zetland, a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Representative at the Holy See regarding the alleged refusal of the authorities in India to permit Catholic priests to enter the State of Manipur.
>
> 2. Mr. Eden would be glad to be informed as to the reply to be returned to the Vatican's representations in this matter.[15]

The above document was forwaded by the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative to the Secretary to the Governor of Assam on 11th March 1938, from New Delhi, requesting that His Excellency the Governor would furnish his views on the representations made by the Vatican. The Secretary to the Governor of Assam re-directed the same document to the Political Agent of Manipur who replied that no group in Imphal was deprived of any religious assistance by any action of the British authorities.

There was no group of Roman Catholics, English officials or otherwise, in Manipur. The European officials stationed in Manipur was always changing. Eight was the ordinary number and sometimes more, or at least two of them were Roman Catholics. Generally, however, none were Catholics. It was not a fact that no Catholic priest was allowed to enter Manipur. Even the political Agent himself

could find no record of any priest being refused permission to come in. Another important fact was that no 'foreigner', i.e., a person who was not a Manipur State subject, was allowed to enter the State without permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and his Darbar. However, applications for permission to enter the State were made to the Political Agent who acted in this matter on behalf of His Highness and in consultation with him only.[16]

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2. No. 2916 - G. A. /478, from C. Gimson, Political Agent of Manipur to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam, dated 14th December 1934.
3. Cited in Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam*, 1942, p. 167.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. Cf. Asoso Yunuo, *Nagas Struggle Against the British Rule Under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu*, 1925-1947. This is perhaps the only book which contains extensively notes on Jadonang from a Naga's viewpoint.
6. Letter from Rev. W. Pettigrew, C/O W. J. Allison & Co., 35 Charles Street, Farringdon Road, London, E. C. 1, England, to Mr. C. Gimson, P. A. in Manipur, dated 6th February 1935.
7. See S. K. Bhuyan, *Bulletin No. 2*, published by the Govt. of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati, Assam and printed by P. Knight at the American Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1934, p. 43.
8. Letter from W. Pettigrew, 60 Norbiton Hall Estate, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey, England, to Mr. C. Gimson, P. A. in Manipur, dated 2nd May 1935.
9. Letter no. 116-A. D., dated 18th September 1935, from W. Yumjao Singh to the Political Agent of Manipur.
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11. D. O. No. 2545-Hill, XXIV-3, from the President of the Manipur State Darbar to the General Secretary, North East India General Mission, 1212, Otis Building, Philadelphia, Pa, U.S.A., dated Imphal, 17th February 1938.
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TWENTY FIVE

Withdrawal of Recognition of the North East India General Mission from the British Missionary Societies

One of the main interests of the Political Agent of Manipur was to insist Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh to complete the monograph on archaic Meitei as soon as possible. Because the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of Assam was steadily supplying financial assistance in the preparation of the monograph, and as such, Mr. Gimson's attention was more fully engaged in the progress of the work than new developments involved in the missionary activities in Manipur. During March 1937, Yumjao Singh made a request to the Political Agent to draw the contingency money already sanctioned for the preparation of the monograph. He wanted to collect some plants and trees earlier, but on account of a series of misfortunes, i.e., the deaths of his wife and the youngest daughter within 1937, he could not do it. He however showed the Grammar and the Vocabulary portion of the work to Professor Stuart Wolfenden who appreciated the intonation marks very much. Mr. Wolfenden who was an Englishman residing in California and a specialist in Tibeto-Burman language had an intention to meet a Pandit in Imphal who knew the old Meitei. Mr. Gimson recommended the name of Yumjao Singh to be the best man who knew the old character.

During the course of his transliteration from the original Meitei scripts, Yumjao Singh came across some of the plants whose English or at least scientific names were required. He intended to send them either to the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Calcutta or the Research Institution at Dehra Doon. Some of these plants were very rare indeed and many of the common people did not know

them, such as—*Napi*, not the ordinary grass but a specis of grass which grew in the Nangmaijing Hill near Andro. Other specis like—*Shingbi*, *Napee*, *Nashen*, *Natang* and *Nakhai* were found in the Koubru Hill as well. Their names occurred here and there in the manuscripts. With his hard labour, the transliteration of the original script *Ningthourol Lambuba* was finally completed in April 1937.

Besides his steady correspondence with Dr. Stuart Wolfenden about the archaii Meitei, Pettigrew also in the meantime was browsing among old scripts in the British Museum and the India Office Library. Mr. Randle, the Librarian of the India Office came across an old Manipuri manuscript and he handed it over to Pettigrew for investigation. Like a good many of the scripts he found in the villages of the Manipur valley, the copyists whoever they were, did not do a good job, and the manuscript of 69 folios looked as if some one in the 19th century had attempted to write the old character with a semi-Bengali method. Pettigrew was, of course, at a loss to find a clue to the contents of the manuscript owing to great difficult in deciphering the characters. He first thought it to be the horoscope of some important individual in the history of Manipur. But his assumptions were found incorrect as because the manuscript was actually based on a treatise of *Shibika*, i.e., a book on astrology. From among the folios which Pettigrew sent to Yumjao Singh for confirmation, the first leaf propounded the origin of the name of the book and dealt with the prospective advantage of reading it. The 28th leaf dealt with formulas for calculating whether a couple would be happy in their married life or not; and the 41st leaf, those of calculating whether a newly born child would prosper in life or not. There were at least three kinds of *Shibikas*, viz., *Shibika Choudip*, *Shibika Chesat* and *Shibika Laishaba*. The language in this sort of literature was very simple and plain, being stripped off much of the superfluous and illustrative words that abound in the archaic Meitei manuscripts of a purely literary nature. This branch of study was very popular in the Manipur valley, because during the research work conducted by Pettigrew and Yumjao Singh for old manuscripts, they generally found such books in every part of the valley in abundance.

By the first week of December 1937, Mr. Gimson reported to S. K. Dutta who was the Honorary Assistant Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of Assam, that the monograph on the arachaic Meitei was finished in manuscript and Yumjao Singh was giving it a final revision. In England, Pettigrew was supposed to go over the manuscript, and accordingly he was requested to obtain the help of distinguished scholars at home to give the monograph a final form. With this information, Mr. Gimson went home on leave from April to October 1938.

In July, the North East India General Mission submitted one of its annual reports for the year 1937-38. After carefully reviewing the figures of what the Mission had already spent for the people of Manipur, Mrs. Ella Rostad, the Treasurer of the Mission, requested Mr. Macdonald who was now the President of the Darbar to reconsider the matter of the State-grant to continue for some time. One of the reasons why Ella Rostad made this approach to the President was that, in last February 1937, the President had proposed to reduce some of the State-grants towards the Dispensaries controlled by the Mission, under the following arguments:

The North East India General Mission received Rs. 350 a year as a grant for its Dispensaries in Manipur. These were, 1. Churachandpur, 2. Tinsong, 3. Hansip, 4. Patpimun, and 5. Khanpi. The Dispensary at Churachandpur had a full stock of medicines and a Doctor at Rs. 45 per month whose work included missionary activities. Tinsong was nine miles from Thanlon which had a State Dispensary. Hansip was Sixteen miles from Thanlon. The two latter Dispensaries, though useful, did not deserve a grant from the State. The Churachandpur Dispensary also appeared to be quite unnecessary since it was next door to a well equipped State Dispensary. If the Mission could maintain an unnecessary Dispensary at Churachandpur, it seemed doubtful whether the State-grant was needed at all. Though the President was unwilling to crutail medical relief in the hills, he was of opinion that the money could be better spent for some other purpose. He wanted to know whether the Mission was willing to use the grant more advantageously. Unless reasons to the contrary were shown, the President told that the grant would

be reduced to cover the Khanpi and Patpimum Dispensaries only.[1]

Now referring to the above proposal, Mrs. Ella Rosted argued that there was a greater need each year for medical work and the Mission was seeking to place more Dispensaries where they would meet the needs of the people. Inasmuch as the Tinsong Dispensary had to be moved during the cold season of 1938, the Mission felt that Hansip was needed to care for the people in that section of the State. With regard to the Mission Doctor doing other work, Ella Rostad confessed that she used to teach first-aid to the older boys and health lessons to the younger boys, which the Mission thought to be an excellent thing for the people in general. An extract of the report submitted by Ella Rostad on 30th July 1938, was as follows:-

> **Medical**:- The Mission has 5 Dispensaries which are located at Chruachandpur, Tinsuang, Hanship, Khanpi and Patpuihmun. The cost of these medical arrangements to the Mission is Rs. 3310, less Rs. 1588 received from sale of medicines. The Manipur State contributed in Grant-in-Aid of Rs. 350 for the year under report. The total number of patients treated at our Mission Dispensaries was 15,289.
>
> The Mission has 1 L.M.P. and 4 Compounders in Manipur State. Two students have been sent to Dibrugarh to join the Compounders' class. During the year under report one girl student completed the Practical Nurse's Course of training at the Women's Hospital of the A. B. Mission at Gauhati.
>
> The Tinsuang Dispensary is to be transferred to Luangpi village located in the Irang River section of the State. Consideration is being given regarding the opening of a Dispensary at Parbung and also at Kahzang.
>
> **Educational** :- The Mission has 1 M. E. School at Churachandpur with the following students on its roll. 19 M. E. ; U. P. ; 46 L. P. The Mission maintains 35 village Schools, on the roll of which are 2 M. E. ; 34 U. P. ; 695 L. P. students. There is also a Girls' School at Churachandpur on the roll of which are as follows :- 3 U. P. ; and 18 L. P. Students. The total number of students in all our Mission Schools was 866 students of which 796 are boys and 70 girls. Of this number there are 88 non-Christians.
>
> During the year, the temporary Schools reported last year have been made permanent. The Mission has on its staff, 1 School Inspector and 40 Teachers. On the staff at our Churachandpur School we have 3 Matric teachers, all of which passed in the 2nd Division. During the year 1 student completed training at the Shillong Government High School, passing the examination in the 2nd division. The Mission has one student at Imphal High School and one student at Shillong. There

are 3 girls studying at the A. B. Mission Girls' School at Gauhati.

The cost to the Mission during the year under report for educational purposes was Rs. 8,645-14-9.

The Mission also maintains a Bible School in English at Churachandpur, on the roll of which are 22 students.

Evangelistic work is also being carried on for which the Mission spent Rs. 2,516.

Manipuri is being taught in all our Schools as a language and the students are making progress in same. Some of the students are now studying the elementary lessons on English translations and composition in Manipuri and English for Class V and VI.[2]

During May last, 1928, one Mr. H. Weightman, Under Secretary to the Government of Assam, had earlier informed the Political Agent of Manipur that the North East India General Mission was added to the list of Missionary Societies recognised for missionary work in India under *Memorandum A.*[3] Now after a span of ten years, matters regarding a formal recognition of the North East India General Mission became a long pending question. In this connection, William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh, made a report to Mr. A. Dibbin of the India Office, Whitehall, that he had brought the matter of the North East India General Mission before the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland at its last meeting on 7th October 1938. Mr. Paton had correspondence with the Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, and with the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. He had also interviewed the Chairman of the London Committee of the North East India General Mission and with other individuals who knew the situation well. In the light of the information gathered, the Standing Committee now unanimously voted that His Majesty's Government should be informed that the recognition so far extended to the North East India General Mission should not be continued to any one of the 4 parts into which the Mission was now divided. The matter was considerably simplified by the fact that the London Committee handed over its responsibility to the American group, and that the Foreign Missions Conference of North America did not desire to ask for a recognition of this body any more.

The Conference of Missionary Societies understood that in recommending the withdrawal of recognition they

were not taking action which would necessarily prevent individuals from carrying on a missionary function, and that the individuals would qualify under *Memorandum C* by statisfying Government requirements. It was the opinion of both the British Conference and of the American Conference that the status of recognised Missions should be kept for bodies that were stable in organisation and were able to exercise a proper discipline over their members.[4] The Secretary of State noted the unanimous opinion of the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. The Passport authorities were also notified that the North East India General Mission was now removed from the list of British Missionary Societies to which recognition had previously been accorded under *Memorandum A*. Afterwards all applications from aliens for visas to enable them to proceed to India to work with this Mission were to be dealt with in future as individual applications under *Memorandum C* only.[5] In the light of this notification the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative wrote to the Secretary to the Governor of Assam that if there were no objection, undertakings in the form appropriate under *Memorandum C* could be obtained from persons originally admitted to India as missionary members of the North East India General Mission operating in Assam and Manipur.[6]

During this period some administrative changes took place in the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi. Rev. J. E. Tanquist made a request to the Political Agent of Manipur to issue a pass for Dr. J. A. Ahlquist to come at Kangpokpi on January 2nd, 1939. He also reported that their Mission Reference Committee had designated Dr. and Mrs. Ahlquist who were willing to take up their residence at Kangpokpi within two or three months. Dr. and Mrs. Werelius who were granted furlough by the American Baptist Mission since May 1st, 1938, also wrote that they would not return at Kangpokpi again, and in their place Dr. Ahlquist was to take over charge of the Mission by the first week of February 1939.[7]

Information regarding the withdrawal of recognition accorded under *Memorandum A* to the North East India

General Mission came to the knowledge of the Political Agent of Manipur only in the last week of January 1939, from the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, who wrote that the original North East India General Mission was split up into four fragmentary Missions, viz., The North East India General Mission (American), The North East India General Mission (English), The Manipur Mission and The Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission. Mr. Rhodes, therefore, requested the Political Agent to obtain from persons originally admitted to India as missionary members of the North East India General Mission operating in Manipur, the necessary undertakings in the form appropriate under *Memorandum C.*

Early in February of the year, Mr. Gimson forwarded all the correspondences on the above subject to the President of the Darbar requesting him to do the needful. For a ready reference to the concerned he enclosed a copy of the *Memoranda A, B,* and *C, 'Revised November 1925, regarding the admission into India of aliens, desiring to undertake Missionary, Educational or other Philanthropic works in India'.* He desired to know about the missionaries concerned to which of the branches of the Mission they now belonged.[8]

The following were the circumstances under which the four fragmentary Missions which originally belonged to the North East India General Mission, came into being.

In 1929, the Home Councils of the North East India General Mission had dismissed Mr. Watkin Roberts after he resigned; but subsequently he withdrew his resignation as Field Director. At that time he was actually encroaching upon the areas already occupied by other Missions in places like, the Cachar District where the Welsh Mission was at work; the Akyab District and the Arakan Hills where the Bible Churchman's Mission was at work; at Sirte in the South Lushai Hills where the English Baptist Mission was at work and in the Upper Chindwin District where the Methodist Mission was at work. After his dismissal the North East India General Mission had withdrawn from all the areas already occupied by other Mission Societies. However, the Mission continued to carry on its work in the south west area of the Manipur State, in the Tripura State and in the Chittagong Hill Tract of Bengal.

Referring to an Order of 22nd November 1930, issued by the Political Agent of Manipur it was clearly evident that Mr. Roberts had endeavoured to state a new Mission under the name of the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission to work in the same area occupied by the North East India General Mission and other Missions. The order issued by Mr. Higgins was of course, against the new Mission of Mr. Roberts working in the south west area of the Manipur State. However, the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission was still working upto 1939 in the Cachar District where the Welsh Mission under Rev. T. W. Reese was operating. The adherents of Mr. Roberts who called themselves Independents were in the same organisation as the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission.

The North East India General Mission always had an English and American Council. These two Councils were responsible for the raising of funds to carry on Mission work in all their Mission areas. This plan was continued for several years before it was finally decided that each Council would be responsible for the raising of funds to carry on the work in a specific area. Consequently, the English Council of the North East India General Mission took the responsibility for all the works in the Tripura State, and the American Council agreed to be responsible for the works in the Manipur State and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

As regards the Manipur Mission which was run under the direction of Dr. G. G. Crozier who located himself near Silchar in the Cachar District, the Mission was never in any way connected with the North East India General Mission. It was a new Mission working among the Manipuri speaking people living in the Cachar District. The North East India General Mission from the very beginning had been working among the different Kuki tribes, but it had never worked among the Manipuri speaking people. Dr. Crozier, therefore, strongly objected to the statement that his work was a fragmentary Mission of the North East India General Mission.

It was a fact that Mr. H. D. Myers who had been in India for 3 years, went to London in August 1938, and called on the International Missionary Council where he declared that the North East India General Mission was broken up into 4

sections. Although the English and the American Councils financed their own specific sections, they both continued to function under the name of the North East India General Mission. The Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission was working within the Cachar area of the Welsh Mission, and in the south west area of the Manipur State under the name of Independents. They were also working in Burma within the American Baptist Mission area. Inasmuch as the American Council was responsible for Mission work in the south west area of Manipur, and inasmuch as the Rostads were American citizens they came directly under the authority of the North East India General Mission with Headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa., of which Mr. H. H. Coleman was still the General Secretary.[9]

In case of the American Baptist Mission in Manipur Dr. G. G. Crozier had earlier submitted form of undertaking already in November 1920, and Pettigrew in January next year. But the Rostads of the North East India General Mission were making correspondence with the Governor of Assam regarding the form of undertaking only during the last week of March 1939. They informed the Governor that since 1928, they were living in Assam working under the auspices of the North East India General Mission incorporated in the United States of America. Rev. Paul Rostad had been appointed by their General Secretary and the American Council in Philadelphia, Pa., as the missionary-in-charge of their work in the south west area of the Manipur State and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bengal. He was responsible for the medical as well as the educational and religious works of these two sections. He had one native Doctor, 6 Compounders, 42 Teachers, 6 Pastors, 22 Evangelists and other workers under his supervision. Ella Rostad had also been appointed as Field Treasurer in 1929, and she was doing an educational work among the Kuki girls of the Manipur State.

In the light of the above facts, the Rostads requested His Excellency the Governor of Assam to permit them to continue in furthering the moral and material well-being of the people among whom they were doing missionary work. The Rostads, therefore, submitted to His Excellency the 'Form of Undertaking' duly signed under the following manner:

> We hereby undertake to give all due obedience and respect to the lawfully constituted Government, and, while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, it is our desire and purpose that our influence, in so far as it may be properly exerted in such matters, should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government; and, in particular, if engaged in educational work, we undertake to do all in our power to promote goodwill and understanding between the people and the Government of the country, and to make those under our care law abiding and good citizens.'[10]

While forwarding the above 'Undertaking', Mr. Gimson wrote to the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, that since recognition had been withdrawn from all the branches which resulted from the split in the North East India General Mission, it was probable that His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and his Darbar might wish to re-consider the question of allowing this Mission to operate in the State. He therefore, requested Mr. Rhodes to instruct him whether he should take up any further action.[11] But on 9th June 1939, Mr. Gimson was informed that no further action on his part was necessary.

One Bawichhuka (son of late H. K. Dohnuna) who was the Secretary of the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission (Watkin Roberts' Mission) appeared to be able to get hold of a lot of information about the North East India General Mission, and he seemed delighted to broadcast in all directions among the simple minded Christians living in the south west Sub-Division of the Manipur State. During September 1939, Rev. Paul Rostad received a true copy of a statement with translation sent to him by Bawichhuaka who actually tried to defame the North East India General Mission. Paul Rostad wanted to know if Bawichhuaka had easy access to the confidential files of the Political Agent in Imphal through one of his friends employed in the Office. The following note was the exact translation of the statement made by Bawichhuaka:-

> **Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission Inc. Lakhipur, Cachar**
> **To Be Read To All those Who Wanted To Know**
>
> Withdrawal of the recognition accorded under the terms of the *Memorandum A*. Last time we had advertised how the North East India General Mission was no longer recognised by the Government, however, some people seemed to believe that those who spread about these news as liars, so we have to circulate again about these news in a wider scope or places.

William Paton, the Secretary of the International Missionary Council had heard about the North East India General Mission from those who had the knowledge about them, from the Secretary of the National Christian Council of India and the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America. He also had communicated to the Chairman of the London, North East India General Mission, and he showed all his informations to the Council of the Missions. The Standing Committee of the Conference of the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland passed a Resolution on Friday, October 7th, 1938, that the North East India General Mission should no longer be recognised.

William Paton had submitted all these informations passed by the Committee to His Majesty Government on the 11th October, 1938, of India Office Whitehall, London, S. W. 1. After considering all the past news and these informations the Secretary of the State for India, on the 31st October, 1938, complying with the North East India General Mission's details of March 14th-192, No. E & O 1447/28, No. P. G. (J?) 4859/39. It had been (was) declared what had been done at *Memorandum A*, 31st October, 1938, was (is) accepted or confirmed and they had authorised to (a) International Mission Council to circulate to other people, (b) to inform Under Secretary of the State Dominions Office, London, S. W. 1, (c) to inform the Chief Passport Officer, Passport Office, London, (d) to inform Under Secretary of the State Foreign Office, London, and also to inform His Majesty's Councils, the Secretary of the State for India who is higher than the Viceroy, had circulated all these informations, and on that very day he informed that the Secretary of the Government of India and the viceroy to talk the matter over.

The Viceroy in his Memo No. 1/293 P/38 dated 5th January, 1939, had informed the Governor of Assam. After these things the Governor of Assam informed the Political Agent of Manipur State under Memo No. 344-47 G. S. dated 28th January, 1939, ordering (giving orders) that all the Government papers (orders) issued to the North East India Mission and to their missionaries should be withdrawned. (Sic.)[12]

The last paragraph of the statement gave rise to great doubt among the simple minded Christians and they therefore requested Rev. Paul Rostad for an explanation. Paul Rostad himself did not know whether all these information given out by Bawichhuaka were true or false; and consequently he could not make any explanation until he heard from the Political Agent. He however knew that Mr. H. D. Myers after leaving India, went direct to London where he met William Paton who was then the Secretary of the International Missionary Council. It was evident that Mr. Myers had under his possession letters and affidavits signed against the North East India General Mission by Dr. Crozier and other dismissed workers as well as members of the Indo-

Burma Pioneer Mission. But Paul Rostad and his co-workers were greatly surprised that Mr. Paton would accept all of Mr. Myers' statements and affidavits against them without giving their General Secretary and the missionaries-in-charge on the Field an opportunity to defend themselves. It was on these grounds that Paul Rostad expressed his willingness to invite anybody or reliable Christian gentlemen to investigate their work on the Field. It seemed significant that during this period Mr. H. D. Myers had an Office in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission.

By September 1939, Paul Rostad made an enquiry from the Political Agent of Manipur whether there would be any possible way to hinder Bawichhuaka of Lakhipur from entering Manipur. He also expressed his desire to know about the last paragraph in the statement of Bawichhuaka if they were false or not. Mr. Gimson did not know by what Bawichhuaka meant to get hold of the official correspondences, and therefore, he expressed that it might have been made through one of the Missions. If Paul Rostad had any information to prove that Bawichhuaka was an undesirable citizen, Mr. Gimson promised to consider whether action should be taken to exclude him from Manipur. But the mere fact that Bawichhuaka did not agree with other Christians in the Mission Field could not by itself make him an undesirable person.[13]

Once again Mr. Gimson started the long pending correspondence on the possible ways of printing the monograph on archaic Meitei. He perfectly knew that Pettigrew had often longed for a dictionary of Manipuri to English, but the latter had been handicapped somewhat when investigating the old Meitei with the modern. If nothing were done on the progress of the late Mr. Wince's *Dictionary of Manipuri to English*, and if the educated Manipuri students were in great need of such a dictionary, Pettigrew still wished to give all possible help in completing and revising the manuscript. He knew that there was a great outcry for this kind of book and for another edition of Captain Gordon's *A Dictionary in English, Bengali and Manipuri* which was out of print when he left Manipur in 1933. Actually Col. H. St. P. Maxwell had requested Pettigrew to revise the book and have a reprint made which was done in 1896.

The real reason why there was so much delay in the production of the monograph on the archaic Meitei was due to Yumjao Singh's striving after perfection. From time to time he found new items for inclusion or he wished to make modifications in the text. By December 1938, Mr. Gimson had in his hand the typed copies of the first part of the monograph which included the Introduction, Grammar and Vocabulary. And in July next year he despatched under a separate cover the monograph to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society at London. He sent two copies of the manuscript, one of which did not contain the photographs, but otherwise they were the same. The second copy was meant for Pettigrew to work on; and he was accordingly requested to make notes in it and re-arrange it, if he so desired. In his forwarding letter to Col. D. M. F. Hoysted, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Gimson wrote:

> The monograph is really the work of Srijut W. Yumjao Singh. Mr. Pettigrew helped in preparing and arranging material. When I was in England on leave last year Mr. Pettigrew told me that he would be willing to edit the monograph, and Srijut W. Yumjao Singh will be grateful for any further assistance he will give now in preparing the work for publication.[14]

REFERENCES

1. D. O. No. 3478 - Hill, III-2a, from the President, M. S. D. (Hill), to Paul Rostad, 801, Otis Building, 112 South, 10th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A., dated Imphal 9th February 1937.
2. Letter from Ella Rostad, Treasurer, North East India General Mission, Churachandpur, P. O., to the President, M. S. D., dated Churachandpur, 30th July 1938.
3. Cf. to Government of Assam, the Governor in Council, Appt. & Pol. Department, Political Branch, Letter No. Pol. 1518-3102-06 A. P., from the Under Secretary to the Govt. of Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong, 5th May 1928.
4. Letter from William Paton, Secretary to the International Missionary Council, Edingburgh House to A. Dibbin, India Office, Whitehall, dated 11th October 1938.
5. No. P & J 4859/38 from A. Dibbin, India Office, Whitehall, S. W. 1 to W. Paton, Secretary, International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, dated 31st October 1938.
6. Letter No. F 293-P/38, from the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative to the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, dated New Delhi, 5th January 1939.

7. Memo No. 4142-M. S. 14, from C. Gimson, Political Agent of Manipur to the President, M. S. D. dated Imphal 5th January 1939.
8. No. 4545 - G. A./418, from C.Gimson,P. A. in Manipur to the President, M. S. D., dated Imphal, 6th February 1939.
9. Letter from Rev. Paul Rostad to A. MacDonald, President, M. S. D., dated Churachandpur 21st March 1939.
10. Letter from Rev. Paul Rostad and Ella Rostad to His Excellency the Governor of Assam, dated Churachandpur, 21st March 1939.
11. Letter No. 504-G. A./478, from the Political Agent of Manipur to C. K. Rhodes, Secretary to the Governor of Assam, dated 29th April 1939.
12. From the *Statement* made by Bawichhuaka, Secretary, Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission Inc., dated 24th August 1939.
13. D. O. No. 2689-G. A./478, from the Political Agent of Manipur to Rev. Paul Rostad, dated 26th September 1939.
14. D. O. No. 1628-G. A./303 dated 15th July 1939, from C. Gimson to Col. D. M. F. Hoysted, Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London.

TWENTY SIX

Dr. J. A. Ahlquist's Death in Car Accident & Forced Labour on Sundays

In December 1939, Dr. Crozier had turned over the Kabui Mission of the Cachar District to Miss Julia A. Rose. As she endeavoured to start a school there for the Kabuis Miss Rose found only a poorly edited *First Primer* in the Kabui Language. She therefore felt it necessary to prepare books for use in the school as well as other literature for the tribe. In this connection she requested the President of the Manipur State Darbar for a translation into Kabui two of the Manipuri books, viz., *Hakchang Nadana-naba Pambei* and *Hakshel Kanglon* both translated by Hawaibam Nabadwipchandra Singh from Dr. L. M. Bishwas' *Swastha Raksha.* After the translation of these books into Kabui they were to be used by the tribe in Manipur as well as those in the Cachar District. The books, according to Miss Rose, were valuable in teaching health as well as for the purpose of reading.[1] But since the *British Indian Copyright Act* was not in force in the Manipur State the Darbar had already published the Manipuri translations of the books within the State without paying any copyright to their authors who first published them in British India. The Darbar, therefore, could not take any responsibility for Miss Rose's publishing the translations of the books in any language in British India. The President simply advised Miss Rose that she might consult a British Indian lawyer before she could take any action in the matter.[2]

Again in June 1940, the Political Agent of Manipur made some clarification regarding an enquiry put up by Miss Rose in connection with the customs of marriages and divorce among the hill tribes of Manipur. The Political Agent replied that neither the *Christian Marriage Act* (India), nor the *Indian Divorce Law* was in force in Manipur. The American Baptist missionaries used to authorise their Superintending Pastors to solemnise local marriage. Upto 1940,

even the local Pastors of many years' standing were authorised by the Sectional American Baptist Conferences to solemnise marriages. When a couple was married, the marrying Pastor granted them a manuscript or typed certificate. The local American Baptist Churches did not grant divorces except in very exceptional cases, like adultery or habitual thieving by the wife. In case of incompatibility the Churches allowed 'separation', but neither of the couple could re-marry while the other was still living. When the Church refused to grant a divorce the parties had to go to the Court, but so far, the Political Agent of Manipur had only one case of this nature.

As regards the point of information required by Miss Rose, whether a statement of divorce made by the wife to the husband would stand before a Court, the following Notice issued by Pettigrew to his Superintending Pastors in 1932 incorporating an extract of a letter dated 21st September 1932, from J. C. Higgins would give a sufficient answer:

> As regards your Superintending Pastors granting divorces as well as solemnising marriages, I see no objection so long as the parties to the divorce reside within the State. But if they migrate to British India, the objection to such a practice would be the same as the objection I urged to the Darbar with respect to the legalisation of marriages within the State, that, unless performed in the proper manner and in accordance with local law, they could not be legal. Unless, therefore, you get the Darbar to legalise divorces granted by the Superintending Pastors, I think a divorced man or woman who migrated to British India would find that British Courts would not recognise the divorce. However, the number of your Christians who migrate to British India is infinitesimal, and the number of divorced persons, who having migrated, take their matrimonial affairs to Court in British India, is nothing, so I do not think you need worry.

In the light of the above Order, Pettigrew issued the following Notice to his Superintending Pastors on 1st December 1932:-

> The question of 'Separation' of married couples, apart from the Biblical reason for divorce, was taken up with the Political Agent, Mr. Higgins, in a later interview, and the following statement was made by him:-
>
> The Superintending Pastors may arrange for 'separation' of man and wife if,
>
> 1. they agree according to the customs of the Tangkhul or other Naga tribes and Kuki tribes, or,
>
> 2. If any resolution made by the Manipur Baptist Convention through their Council is made on behalf of the American Baptist Mission, Christians in Manipur is agreed upon. This arrangement would be

> recognised by the Darbar. Personally he thought that the customs of the Naga and Kuki tribes in Manipur would be satisfactory, but if there was any element of unfairness, then that should be omitted. And if there was anything objectionable for the Christian community, that should not be allowed.[3]

The above Notice about the 'separation' of man and wife was in answer to the Council Meeting Resolution No. 11 of October 1932. Pettigrew had actually sent out copies of the same to all Superintending Pastors in the north east area, north west and the Sadar areas.

In July of the year, Mr. Gimson wrote to Paul Rostad that it was necessary to obtain permission from the State authorities of Manipur for the outside students who were reading in the Mission Schools at Churachandpur. When the Mission had removed its Headquarters from Lakhipur to Manipur State during May 1930, all possible arrangements were made by their General Secretary, Mr. Coleman. At that time they had students from other parts of their Mission areas at Lakhipur and all the students had also moved with the change of the Headquarters. Upto 1940, they received students from their Mission areas located in the Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. These students were being prepared at Churachandpur to become teachers or workers of the Mission in their areas outside Manipur. But the Mission authorities were then completely ignorant of obtaining permission from the Political Agent of Manipur for these foreign students. As a matter of fact these students from the outside Mission areas were invited by the Mission authorities to come at Churachandpur for training and, therefore, they were innocent of any wilful disobedience against the State orders. Paul Rostad, however, made a promise that in future the Mission would not invite any new students from their two Mission areas to come without first obtaining the Political Agent's permission.

The names of all the Mission students who were not Manipur State subjects, but reading in the Mission Schools at Churachandpur are given in the Table on succeeding page

Of the students mentioned in the Table, Lallawma Lushai was the son of one of the Mission workers located in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Darhmingthangi Lushai was the daughter of a Mission worker in Tripura. This girl was born

Name	*Father's name*	*Home address*	*Tribe*
SawmCheu	Rotling	Fiangpidung Village C.H.T.	Bawm
Dirtling	Khangtiam	Khamtlum Village C.H.T.	-do-
Panawn	Neituahthang	Tuizung Village C.H.T.	-do-
Hrengngaura	Zaliana	Saikar, Tripura	Darlawng.
Kiplei	Almin	Rangthah Village C.H.T.	Bawm
Kapzing	Biltling	Phalawng Village C.H.T.	-do-
Langkrat	Langngin	Mangking Village C.H.T.	Miru
Sanghuliana	Chawngpuilal	Laizo Village C.H.T.	Pangkhua
Tlanglawma	Vanga	Talan III Village Tripura	Darlawng
Hrathuamliana	Ziahkhama	Tlangte Village Tripura	-do-
Lallawma	Tleikawng	Ngarua Village C.H.T.	Lushai
Dokhamliana	Thuama	Belkum Village Tripura	Darlawng
Darhmingthangi	Lianhawla	Hmawngchuan Village, Tripura	Lushai Girl
Runtlemi	Thangvai	Pangkhiang Village, C.H.T.	Bawm Girl
Tuanziri	Chalkhup	Mualpui Village C.H.T.	-do-
Tunvum	Luanneng	Mimbung, Lushai Hills	Paihte

at Tinsong village in Manipur but a few years earlier the Mission had transferred her father to Tripura. Tunvum Paihte, although born in the Lushai Hills, had lived with his family for many years in Kailam village, Manipur, and while staying in the State he read in the Mission School at Churachandpur. In 1938 his family had migrated back to the Lushai Hills. Hrengngaura, Hrathuamliana and Tlanglawma—these three students who arrived on 5th July, 1940 were members of the Darlawng tribe. There were also a few self-supported boys reading in the Mission School at Churachandpur. They were:-

Name	*Father's Name*	*Home Address*	*Tribe*
Vanlalsiam	Bawipa	Tubidawr, Cachar District	Hmar
Thanga	Lalthir	Tubidawr, -do-	Lushai
Hminga	Ngula	Khawdungsei, Lushai Hills.	Hmar
Lalawva	Thangsum	Khawdungsei, Lushai Hills.	Paihte
Liansel	Ngena	Tubidawr, Cachar District	Hmar
Helthawn	Amkam	Mimbung, Lushai Hills	Paihte

The last named boy Helthawn was born at Songtal village, Manipur, but his family had moved to the Lushai Hills. There was also another student called Tunzachin who was born in the Chin Hills. Later his family had moved to the Lushai Hills and afterwards they lived in the Manipur State. His father's name was Paukhawneng, and during the 1940s he was living in the Khazang village of Manipur. He was a Paihte.

It was one of the Mission's policies to invite students from other Mission areas to come at Churachandpur to receive training in their Schools, and at times they used to transfer some of the workers from Manipur to the other areas. The following persons showed their desire to enter Manipur and receive training at the Mission Schools at Churachandpur. Consequently they stayed in Manipur for 5 years and completed their training:-

1. Challiana, Sorhmun Village, Sakhan Hill, age 18 years, brother of Chief Laldinga, Lushai.

2. Zolura, Tlaksih Village, Tripura State, age 13 years, son of Pastor N. Luaia, Lushai.

3. Chownglowk, Ngarua Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 13 years, son of Nudowi, Miru.

4. Laikowi, Thumru Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 14 years, son of Ania, Miru.

5. Menring, Thumru Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 14 years, son of Kuntowng, Miru.

6. Pauru, Mangking Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 14 years, son of Sula, Miru.

7. Zanina, Pangkhiang Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 19 years, son of Rangkim, Bawm.

8. Dirtling, Khamtlung Village, Chittagong Hill Tracts, age 17 years, son of Khangtiam, Bawm.[4]

One of the important events in the history of the Christian religion took place in December 1940, when the Government of India, in consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities concerned, decided that the term 'Roman Catholic Church' would be used in place of the term the 'Church of Rome' in all official correspondence.[5]

The American Baptist Mission faced a very troublesome period in the beginning of the year 1941. After the departure of Dr. Werelius from Kangpokpi, the Reference Committee of the Mission had designated Dr. J. A. Ahlquist as the new medical missionary for the Kangpokpi station. He was to take charge of the medical work from the 1st February 1939. But he stayed alive in Manipur for hardly two and half years as he died on 13th March 1941 in a car incident. The following first-hand account of the incident was narrated by Mr. Geo. W. Supplee, the new missionary-in-charge at Kangpokpi in place of J. E. Tanquist:-

> On Wednesday Dr. Ahlquist went down to Dimapur to meet his wife who was coming in from Calcutta with my wife. The two women reached Dimapur in the early morning train, and after a hurried breakfast the three of them started for Kohima. At the second furlong past the second mile stone, where the road rises high above the land on both sides four ox-carts were coming toward them on their own side of the road. Dr. Ahlquist thought that he could make it all right, so he went on. The road was too narrow, and the car ran down over the side of the road and turned over nearly two full turns. The brace of the windscreen snapped of and it crushed Dr. Ahlquist's skull on the right side. He was unconscious when the two women reached him, and though he breathed for a time, he never knew what struck him.
>
> The women arranged with a lorry to take the body to Kohima yesterday. I went to Mr. Pawsey and asked for permission for us to make the night trip through with the body. Our car with Mrs. Ahlquist and my family came through with the lorry.[6]

The following account of the works performed by Dr. Ahlquist during his tenure as the missionary Doctor at Kangpokpi was narrated by an evangelist of the American Baptist Mission seven years after the car incident:-

> Though Dr. Ahlquist's life with us was short, it was eventful and we remember his name with reverence and admiration. The news of his

sudden death was a great shock especially to the poor and to those with defective eyesight. Being an eye specialist he was the only hope of the blind and many received their sight through him. With his death the hope of others of receiving their sight vanished. It is said that many blind men and women both in the hills and in the plains were waiting anxiously for Dr. Ahlquist to cure their blindness. When the sad news of his death was published they felt it strongly and wept bitterly because of their irreparable loss.[7]

In March 1936, when Dr. and Mrs. Werelius were staying at Kangpokpi they received a letter from Miss Julia A. Rose who was then working with Dr. Crozier in Silchar, asking for a permission to stay at Kangpokpi. Her request was granted under resolution No. 1 of the Manipur State Darbar held on 8th April. In June, 1940, she again enquired from the Political Agent of Manipur about the Divorce Law enforced among the Manipuri Christians. This time also her requests were promptly complied with by the Political Agent. Lastly, in March 1941, she again asked for and was immediately granted to her a pass for a holiday in Manipur. But the pass was granted on the express condition that she did no missionary work while in the State. In accordance with these conditions she most conscientiously spent her holidays at Churachandpur, although she was often asked by various people to give them a Gospel Message.

Now in October 1941, she lodged a complaint to the Political Agent of Manipur stating that one Dr. L.I. Burrows was spending his holiday at Kangpokpi. He was a missionary working under Mid-Missions which worked almost exclusively among the Manipuris. Miss Rose quoted a letter from Dr. Burrows, dated 22nd September 1941:

> The Church has been kind enough to ask me to speak for them at two services and am to have a Men and Boys class each remaining Sunday; that we are here, as well as a class in the Bible School. Beulah too, is to have the women every week as well as during the whole time of the Bible School. Beulah is Mrs. Burrows (Sic.)[8]

What Miss Rose wanted to understand was that, she was allowed a pass on the condition that she did no missionary work; while on the other hand, Dr. Burrows and his wife were practically conducting the Mission work at Kangpokpi. She, therefore wanted an explanation in this instance. According to Mr. Gimson, no discrimination was intended between Miss Rose and Dr. Burrows. By oversight Dr. Burrows had not been informed that he could do no mission-

ary work in the State. The mistake would be rectified, Mr. Gimson said, as it was contrary to the State policy that Missions which were not allowed Fields in the State could practice in Manipur.[9]

In his reply to Mr. Gimson's enquiry, Mr. Earl E. Brock the missionary-in-charge of the Kangpokpi station replied that, Dr. Burrows did not do any missionary work while he was staying at Kangpokpi. As a visiting missionary Dr. Burrows attended something more than half of the Mission's services; and on a friendly gesture he was asked to speak at a Church service once, at a prayer meeting once, and to teach a Sunday School class once only. Also during the Bible class Mr. Brock asked him to conduct one class a day in simple village medicine. Apart from these things Dr. Burrows did not do any other missionary activities.[10]

There occurred a great controversy between the Christians and the non-Christians in the Churachandpur area covered by the North East India General Mission. In December 1941, a report was submitted by Tongpao the Head Lambu at Thanlon against the Mission authorities at Churachandpur. This Head Lambu was called down to Imphal on duty by the President of the Manipur State Darbar. When Tongpao asked for a coolie to carry his load from Churachandpur to Moirang he was not given a coolie on the ground that it was a Sunday. Actually the Lambus had no orders to halt at any Christian village on a Sunday, so as to extend facilities to the Christians to observe the day as 'a rest' from carrying loads. There had also been many complaints about the State servants being refused to be supplied with food when they reached Churachandpur on duty. As a result of the complaint lodged by Tongpao, the President of the Darbar wanted an immediate explanation from Rev. Paul Rostad. He further stated that the Head Lambus were entitled to impress coolies to carry their loads and that Christians would not be excused from carrying loads merely because the day happened to be a Sunday.[11] In his explanatory statement Paul Rostad submitted the following Order issued by the President himself some time earlier in December 1938:-

> Christians cannot be compelled by non-Christians to do things which are offences against Christian morality, nor can non-Christians be

compelled by Christians to abandon the traditional customs of the village.[12]

The Christians considered working on Sunday an offence against Christian morality. As a matter of fact, one of the Christians belonging to the North East India General Mission, who was then living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts had been excommunicated from the Church because of working on the Christians' Sabath Day. Paul Rostad further stated that he tried to persuade Tongpao to remain overnight at Churachandpur with information that in the early morning the Christians would supply the coolies to carry his loads. But Tongpao only saw fit to make a complaint against the Christians on that score. All things being equal, the Christians trusted that the State would not compel them to do which offended their conscience and which was against their Church discipline.

In the midst of this controversy one Lalzahen who was also a Lambu issued the following Order which was more or less against the previous standing instructions of the State Government:

Villages Gelmolkhunman Chief is informed that as soon as you receive this letter of mine make the path between you and Tualphei village nicely for the P.M.S.D. will see the village of Tualphei village and again the village of Tualphei people must make the path from theirs to Churachandpur nicely. Also the people of the Mission compound will have to make the path from Mission compound to a village where Chief Mangkhawlun is living and thus your former portion must be cleaned without fail.

Again on 29th January 1942, Lalzahen Lambu in association with Mangkhawlun issued the following Order specifically addressed to the Christian people at Churachandpur:-

Village Churachandpur Mission, informed to Thangkhai - These words-

You the Churachandpur people must clear the path between Songpi and Churachandpur as far as Maṭa River every year using the hoes, it is not allowed to fail in doing this. The P.M.S.D. is to come by the 13th February, 1942, from Teiseng to Hlanbung Camp.

Paul Rostad understood that the Lambu himself did not come upto Churachandpur, but he sent these two notices through some messengers. He, therefore enquired if Lalzahen Lambu had been authorised by the President to

request the Christian people to clear the path in question. Whatever the State authorities requested the Christians to do, Paul Rostad said, they would gladly do, provided it was not an offence against Christian morality. The President, thereafter clarified the whole situation in one of his letters addressed to Paul Rostad:

> As the path in question lies outside the Mission compound in land over which the Mission has no right I agree that it was wrong to call upon your people to repair the path for the benefit of touring officers. In future you will not be called upon to do so. I have instructed my office accordingly.[13]

But regarding the forced labour on Sundays, the President still insisted that conversion to Christianity would not exempt a man from the labour on Sundays.[14]

It would be interesting to recall the final phase of the manuscript on the archaic Meitei which remained an unpublished work. With the beginning of the year 1940, some eminent people came forward and they claimed authorship of the monograph. Besides these unlawful claims made, people like Col. D.M.F. Hoystead, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, William Pettigrew, Prof. Turner, Dr. Wolfenden, Sir George Grierson, C. Gimson, the Political Agent of Manipur and Mrs. Davis who later became the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society all offered severe criticism on the monograph by which the last hope of printing the manuscript was put to an end.

Some time in May 1940, Pettigrew met Mr. Hoysted at the office of the Royal Asiatic Society and told him that in 1896, Sir George Grierson was in communication with him about a translation of a portion from the Bible and some old folk-lore stories into modern Manipuri. Traces of old scripts were found later, and his junior collaborator Yumjao Singh found some works on astrology in the old character, together with certain copper plate inscriptions among the outlying villages. Pettigrew had reported to Mr. Higgins who forwarded the account to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which the Council proved to be very enthusiastic about the finds. All the original investigations appeared to have been supervised and co-ordinated by Pettigrew assisted by several old Pandits who were supposed to know the archaic characters and language including Yumjao Singh who now claimed authorship of the monograph.

Again in December 1937, Mr. Wolfenden wrote to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with the manuscript on the archaic Meiteli:-

> When I saw it at the beginning of the year (1937) it was in the stage of a first typewritten draft. . . from the fact that. . . the MS before submission for publication will be edited by Dr. W. Pettigrew ... the work should be well worth publication.[15]

Subsequent to this letter, in March 1938, Mr. Wolfenden again wrote to Col. Hoysted, "I should be glad to look through Yumjao Singh's work when it has been completed and make any suggestion to the Council that might seem called for."[16]

Sir George Grierson wrote to Col. Hoysted in January 1931:-

> My reply is that it has my enthusiastic support. Indeed I may say that I am to some extent responsible for its inception. . . . You will also see about Mr. Pettigrew, and will understand how competent he is for the projected work.[17]

Actually the manuscript of the archaic Meitei was received by the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in the month of November 1939. But Col. Hoysted could not so easily approve of the manuscript to his Council for immediate printing without his own criticism. According to his view, Yumjao Singh in the alphabet section at the beginning of the book mentioned high and low tones and also the inflections, but he had not included them in his vocabulary. How did he find out about them from an unspoken language? Or whether, the inflection and tone were the same in the early and modern Manipuri ? Did tone and inflection tend to persist from an archaic language to a modern form etc.?

Pettigrew thought that the Vocabulary in Chapter IV was of great use, though the words in the 'Archaic' column seemed to him to be derived from a language differing from the words used in the body of the manuscript. These seemed to be practically the same with modern Manipuri as appeared from the Phayeng Plates. The Vocabulary, therefore, did not bear out the thesis of the manuscript. Defending his own position as regards the alphabets used in the monograph, Yumjao Singh wrote back to Col. Hoysted through the Political Agent of Manipur:

> There is inflection of tones in modern Manipuri and there are words that are common both in old and modern Manipuri. In the MSS when

words of the latter kind are found the inflection of tones are generally indicated by the different symbols as represented in the alphabets. Thus I have called them high and low tone symbols according to the modern inflection. The presence of such symbols indicate that in old Manipuri too there might have been this inflection of tones as well. But it is a known fact that even in modern Manipuri the inflection of tones varies according to localities. Therefore, it is unsafe to attempt to indicate them in the vocabulary. Thus nothing of the kind has been attempted there.[18]

In the Vocabulary section Yumjao Singh collected only those words that did not actually enter into the modern form of speech. The Phayeng Plate appeared to have been post-dated, and from the evidence of the language it was quite a recent one. It could be well understood by a modern speaker with a litte common sense, but it was not the case with many of the earlier manuscripts. In the Vocabulary, words that were laterly introduced from foreign origins, such as the simple compound-word like *phusaba* (pottery+maker) and so on were all excluded.

As a matter of fact, Yumjao Singh had no knowledge about the question of tones and inflections in the old language. He assumed that where the word in the old language was the same as in the modern language, the tone was the same and he took the pronunciation of the old language by the Pandits to be the same as the pronunciation of the old language by those who used to speak it as a living language. This was little better than assuming that Italians in the present day pronounce Latin in the same way as the Romans used to pronounce it.

By January 1941, it became clear that the Royal Asiatic Society of London decided not to publish the monograph at least during the great world war. People were in the midst of a bombed London and surrounding districts to say nothing of the rest of the country. They were having their share of it along with the London area and one reason for the decision not to take up the publishing of the monograph was just this. It was under these circumstances that Pettigrew finally requested Mr. Gimson to publish to monograph in Calcutta through the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Needless to say, Pettigrew was greatly disappointed. The voluntary work and expense incurred in preparing the material in Manipur as well as in the United States and

England made it possible for Pettigrew to interest the philologists in this most interesting work. When he knew that the Royal Asiatic Society would not publish the monograph, Pettigrew wrote his final letter to the Secretary of the Society indicating his wish to convey a last message to Yumjao Singh:-

> The Chapter on Grammar being more or less an adaptation of my own Grammer of modern Manipuri published by the Assam Government, I think that in all fairness to me, Yumjao Singh should have commenced the Chapter by stating that the material is taken (almost section by section) from my Grammar and that he received permission from me to incorporate same in this Monograph. The casual reader might not understand this.[19]

After the manuscript was returned by the Royal Asiatic Society in February 1941, Mr. Gimson again made an approach to the Deputy Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of Assam to publish the monograph. In the meantime the Manipur State Darbar had released an amount of Rs. 1,000 towards the publication. But the great war prevented all negotiations till 1945 when the question of printing the monograph was opened again. But by this time the publication activities of the D.H.A.S. were crippled to a great extent for handicaps brought about by the war conditions. However, they were reviving their old projects of which the publication of the Meitei Monograph formed a part. Upto 1948, the manuscript was still lying in the office of the D.H.A.S. unpublished and in April of the year, S. K. Bhuyan the newly appointed Director of the Department wrote a very disheartening letter to the Dominion Agent of Manipur:-

> The contribution of Rs. 1,000 so kindly offered by the Manipur State Council towards the printing of the Monograph does not cover the expenditure in full. At the same time, the fund at our disposal for publication work is exhausted at present.[20]

REFERENCES

1. Letter from Miss Julia A. Rose, The Wicket Gate, Banskandi, Cachar District, Assam to the President, M.S.D. dated 15th February 1940.
2. Memo No. 3198-G, dated 2nd April 1940, from the President, M.S.D., to Miss Julia A. Rose.
3. Adapted from Memo No. 1367/E VIII-7, from the President, M.S.D., to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Ukhrul, 29th June 1940.

4. Memo No. 3779-G.A., from C. Gimson, P.A. in Manipur to the President, M.S.D., dated Imphal, 30th November 1940.
5. See Letter No. Eccl., 35/1797/D 2, dated 5th December 1940, from the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Defence Department to the Home Secretary to the Government of the N.W.F., Province.
6. Letter from Geo W. Supplee to Mr. C. Gimson, dated Kangpokpi, 14th March 1941.
7. T. Luikham, *A Short History of the Manipur Baptist Chrisitan Golden Jubilee*, op. cit., p. 43
8. Cited in Miss Julia A. Rose's letter to C. Gimson, P.A. in Manipur, dated Roseabad, Lakhipur, Cachar District, Assam, 13th October 1941.
9. Letter No. 4407-G.A., from C. Gimson to Miss Julia A. Rose, dated 25th October 1941.
10. D.O. No. 4408-G.A., from C. Gimson to Earl E. Brock, dated 25th October 1941.
11. See Memo No. 3513/Hill from the President, M.S.D., to the missionary-in-charge, Churachandpur, dated 17th January 1942.
12. See Vide Memo No. 1913/Hill dated 10th December 1938.
13. See D.O. No. 5731/Hill, dated 24th June 1941.
14. See Memo No. 4994/Hill from the President of the Manipur State Darbar to the S.D.O. (West), dated 20th April 1942.
15. Letter from Col. D.M.F. Hoysted, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London to Prof. Turner, dated 29th May 1940.
16. *loc. cit.*
17. *loc. cit.*
18. Letter from W. Yumjao Singh to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated 3rd September 1940.
19. Letter from W. Pettigrew to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W 1, dated 31st January 1941.
20. Letter No. 9304 from S. K. Bhuyan, Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam to the Dominion Agent of Manipur, dated Gauhati 15th April 1948.

TWENTY-SEVEN

Educational Programme of the North East India General Mission and the Regular Independent Church of Manipur

The American Baptist Mission held one of their Conferences in the last part of 1941, and they discussed the situation at Kangpokpi. Although the Mission authorities in America were searching for a Doctor the war situation made it doubly difficult, and the British Government was also refusing permission for new individuals to leave for foreign lands. By December of the year, the Mission authorities sent words that Dr. Werelius was willing to return in those difficult times. So before his coming to the station, Mr. Geo W. Supplee was requested to be in nominal charge of the Kangpokpi station after Mr. Brock's departure for Jorhat. If the Political Agent would kindly approve, Mr. Supplee said, he could make visits at Kangpokpi over weekends. Although the lack of personnel staff in the Kangpokpi Mission station was caused by the world war situation, the Mission tried their best to fulfil their commitments to the Government of Manipur as soon as possible.

Conflicts between the tribal animists and the Christians had all along been a regular phenomena since the introduction of the Christian religion in the hill areas of Manipur during 1894. After a lapse of many years another conflict between the two groups again occurred during April 1942, in the Churachandpur area covered by the North East India General Mission. On 25th of the month Paul Rostad received a letter signed by seven of their Christians who lived in the Songtal village protesting against the action of their village Chief and elders. They wrote:

> On the 13th April our village people made a *Khozih* which refers to a sacrificial rite or ceremony. As we did not join them in observing this

> worship they fined us on the 14th of April. We do not feel it is right to observe this non-Christian sacrificial rite. We want to bring our complaint to the State Officer of our Government. If not, they will be fining us every year and many of us cannot meet such fines. We are ready to move out of this village on account of this. Now what would you advise us to do?[1]

The complaint was made on behalf of the Songtal Church and it was signed by Vungluai, Ginsong, Pauzasawi, Khamlang, Vungthang, Chinpum and Nialzanang. Paul Rostad had to refer the matter to the President of the Manipur State Darbar who immediately issued the following instructions:-

> A Christian cannot be compelled to sacrifice to demons or to contribute specially to the expenses of such a sacrifice; nor can a non-Christian be compelled to stop sacrificing to demons.[2]

One Rev. J. Morris Forbes who was the Acting Treasurer of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (Assam Mission), and who had spent about three months at Kangpokpi with his wife during June to August 1938, made a request to Mr. Sharpe the new President of the Manipur State Darbar, to issue passports for two of their missionaries to come to and reside at Kangpokpi. These gentlemen were Dr. James Telford and Rev. Vincent Young who were members of the Burma Mission and commanded the Shan Labour Corps in the southern Shan States. When the British and the Chinese armies left Burma, they with their officials walked upto Kunming. They were flown from there to Calcutta and discharged in the summer of 1942 from the British army with the ranks of Captain. Mr. Telford was a British subject and Mr. Young was an American born in Burma. They had long experience in the Shan States and until they were able to return to their Mission work in Burma, they expected to serve in the Assam Mission. On 1st December 1942, the Political Agent of Manipur issued the necessary pass allowing these two gentlemen to enter Manipur and to reside temporarily at Kangpokpi. He further expressed that the State was anxious to have the Leper Asylum reopened which had been partly closed during the war time.[3]

In spite of the annual grants offered by the Government of Manipur to the management of the dispensaries controlled by the North East India General Mission, they were always

far behind a supply of enough information to the State authorities and thus the Government repeatedly enquired about the existence and functioning of the medical centres. During March 1943, Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad were out of Manipur and in their place Dr. Thanglunga (L.M.P.) was looking after the Mission station. According to a report submitted by Mrs. Ella Rostad all the dispensaries within the North East India General Mission area were still in existence.[4] The following were the list of the dispensaries and their respective Doctors and Compounders employed by the Mission:-

1. Churachandpur Mission Dispensary - Dr. H.S. Thanglunga
2. Sawngtal Mission Dispensary - Khaizaliana (Compounder)
3. Hanship Mission Dispensary - Vungkhawthang (Compounder)
4. Lungthulian Mission Dispensary - Taivela (Compounder)
5. Luangpi Mission Dispensary - Paudala (Compounder)
6. Patpuihmun Mission Dispensary - K. Luaia (Compounder)
7. Bora Bekara Mission Dispensary - Nguna (Compounder)
8. Hiangliep Mission Dispensary - Peka (Compounder)

Upto March 1944, Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad were staying at Sat Tal Estate (U.P.), and during their absence from Manipur the President of the Darbar expressed the desire of the State authorities to use again the Office buildings at Churachandpur. The suggestions made by the Government were that, the Girls' Hostel could be used for the Mission Dispensary, Office and Printing Press. The missionaries, however felt that the Girls' Hostel could not be used and it was not reasonable to transfer the Mission Press to this building. The floor was not strong enough for the Press, and if it were set up there, which no doubt required the cost of some experienced mechanic, Paul Rostad thought it impossible at a moment's notice to again move the Press to some other building, when the Hostel would be required for the girls. To have it just taken away from the girls, even as it would seem for a temporary use, it might naturally result for the girls losing their Hostel permanently and, therefore, to such a plan the missionaries could not agree. They showed their willingness for the Office and the Dispensary to move anywhere on short notice, but not so with the Printing Press. Actually Paul Rostad wanted to house the Government

Upper Primary School in some other building so that the Mission could continue possessing the Government Office building. He accordingly instructed Dr. Thanglunga and Mr. Nengzachin to make some temporary arrangements as they were expecting to come back to Manipur as soon as they knew regarding the supplies and shipping of their goods.[5]

The headquarters of the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur suffered badly when the Japanese advanced past it up the Tiddim Road. The missionaries therefore left the State at the beginning of 1942 during the first bombing of Imphal. In the course of the operations, the Japanese had destroyed the Sub-Divisional Officers' bungalow at Churachandpur was also destroyed as a measure of denial. During August and September 1944, Churachandpur was in complete ruins and so the missionaries thought that it would take some time before they could come back there. They shifted their headquarters temporarily at Patpuihmun village located in the Vangei Range. Upto September of the year they had some workers in the new station, viz., Lalthuanliana, H.L. Sela and H. Chinlang. While living at Churachandpur most of the head Mission workers were exempted from coolie labour by the State authorities of Manipur. In this context, Mrs. Ella Rostad requested the President of the Darbar to issue an order so that the abovementioned three workers would also be free from doing coolie work in order to enable them to give their full time to Mission work. The President immediately gave his consent and he issued orders exempting the three leaders of the Mission from coolie labour as long as they were whole time paid Mission workers.[6]

During the war operations Mr. Earl E. Brock of the American Baptist Mission was forced to withdraw to the Imphal plain with the British troops, but with the re-opening of the road he re-established himself at Kangpokpi and the Mission resumed its work. He pointed out that the lease granted to the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi was due to expire on 31st March 1945, and he wanted to know if it could be extended for another period of 25 years.[7] Mr. Brock also informed that it was the Mission's intention to post a medical missionary at Kangpokpi as soon as the

progress of the war made one available. In anticipation of His Excellency the Agent to the Crown Representative's approval, the Manipur State Darbar in their resolution No. 57 of 8th March 1945, had already sanctioned an extension of the lease.

One of the conditions on which the lease was granted (although this was not mentioned in the lease itself) was that, a medical missionary should be stationed at Kangpokpi. This stipulation had so far been observed by the American Baptist Mission; but for the last few years the Mission were unable to send a medical man. Mr. Gimson, therefore, thought that His Highness the Maharaja's proposal that the renewal of the lease should be for 5 years and not for 25 years was quite reasonable. Also because conditions were likely to change in great measure within the next five years.[8] In June, the Governor of Assam forwarded his approval of the arrangements regarding the sanction of the renewal of the lease. The following was the original version of the letter from the Secretary to the Governor of Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur:-

> I am directed to say that His Excellency the Agent to the Crown Representative is pleased to order that the lease of the land to the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi granted in Assam Government's Letter No. Pol. 995/2613-A.P., dated the 10th May, 1922, may be renewed for a further period of 5 years on the understanding that Clause 6 of the lease is not exhausted by this renewal and that if a further renewal is not granted at the end of the 5 years, the provisions of Clause 6 relating to compensation will still stand.[9]

The Rostads were forced to evacuate during the war period and thus they remained in America on furlough. They now wished to return to Manipur State as soon as the suitable buildings were available to accommodate them. The Mission was planning during the next two or three years to erect about 20 or more houses and a well equipped Hospital as part of their new programme. After the Churachandpur headquarters were destroyed, Mr. Coleman had located a temporary native compound at Patpuihmun in the Vangei area from which the Mission work was now operating. Upto July 1945, the Mission had no white representative on the Field and thus Mr. Coleman thought it imperative for the Rostads to return and take charge of the Mission work in Manipur.

In matters of educational policy the North East India General Mission had so far paid no special attention to the orders of the State Government to the effect that all the Primary Schools run by the Mission should have Manipuri language as a compulsory subject. Instead they put much emphasis on the Lushai language, and therefore, the President of the Darbar again reminded the Mission authorities to instruct their School teachers to teach in Manipuri right from the beginning of January 1946. Unfortunately there were no white missionaries to solve the problem and thus the matter was taken up by the Working Committee Members of the Mission who discussed the problem on 3rd December 1945. The following was an extract of the resolution passed by the Native Working Committee:-

> The State order came before the Native Working Committee on the 3rd December, 1945, for consideration in the absence of our Missionary-in-Charge to whom it was addressed. The order has been forwarded to him for prompt and necessary action. In the meantime, this Native Working Committee in pursuance to this order shall make every preparation to meet the requirements contained in the order and our Mission Schools from now on shall start giving instruction in Manipuri affecting from 1946.
>
> In order to effectively abide by this order it becomes necessary to have all of our School teachers trained in Manipuri character and language etc. Teachers' special Manipuri training programme shall be made in our next Working Committee and all the Mission School teachers shall then be required to receive this training.[10]

The Rostads fully agreed that it was right and proper to teach Manipuri instead of Lushai in their Mission Schools. Their General Secretary and his Council also gave their consent to make this change. One of the Mission workers, Mr. Chinlang who had matriculated from High School at Imphal and who had for four years a private tutor to help him learn the Manipuri language, was thought to be the only qualified worker who could teach this language. Actually the Mission had a small number of teachers who could teach beginners in the Manipuri language. However, the Rostads promised that, after their arrival in Manipur they would arrange to have others trained and better prepared to teach Manipuri.[11] As most of the hill students were very keen in studying English language, Paul Rostad hoped that there would not be any objection to their teaching this important international language which was, of course, indigenous to

their own areas, such as, Hmar, Paihte and Thadou. Formerly, the Mission students were taught direct in Lushai language from the *Primers* printed in that language.

Mr. Coleman explained the reasons why the Mission had adopted the Lushai language in their educational programme. He assured that teaching in the Lushai language in their Mission Schools would be discontinued and that the Manipuri language would be taught in accordance with the prescribed curriculum of the State. However, the requirements of the teaching of Manipuri language could not be put into effect immediately, but would have to be installed gradually for the reason that their teachers were not qualified for the time being. The following were some of the main reasons why the Mission had previously adopted the Lushai language in their Schools by excluding Manipuri in their syllabus.

In 1910, when the Mission started its work in Assam they found that people in the Manipur State consisted of many clans and tribes speaking as many different dialects. Few, if any, of such dialects were reduced to uniform speech or writing with the exception of the Lushai in the nearby Lushai Hills. They also found that missionaries in the Lushai Hills had already translated portions of the Bible and other literature and also some school-books for primitive people into the Lushai language. The missionaries who first entered the Manipur State were Lushais who spoke only their language (Sic. Coleman). They took advantage of the work done in the Lushai Hills and adopted the Lushai language as the medium for communication with the various clans and tribes who were found in Cachar and Manipur. They therefore, continued to use that language in their missionary as well as educational work.

Upto the beginning of 1946, the Mission had more than 40 village schools located in nearly every different tribal area, and their teachers numbering more than 60 composed of all tribes. These teachers had a rudimentary knowledge of the Manipuri, because several years ago the Mission had made it compulsory to have a class in Manipuri in each school. Since the missionaries had obliged to evacuate Manipur and when the war came and distributed their work, teaching of

Manipuri was neglected by many teachers, because there was no white missionary on hand to enforce it. Now arrangements were made for classes for the Mission teachers to study Manipuri language during vacation periods and Mr. Coleman assured that the language would be taught as a compulsory subject in every one of the village Day Schools. In their Middle English advanced class VI, English language was introduced to prepare the students to enter into the Junior High School Course consisting of class VII and class VIII of the regular High School Course. With the Junior High School Course the Mission's educational programme was completed.[12]

In March 1946, the Regular Independent Church of Manipur which was financially supported by the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission submitted an appeal to the Political Agent of Manipur. This Church had been permitted by the Political Agent to work independently as far as their religion and rural education were concerned and they were pulling on quite nicely till 27th January 1943, when a Presbytery was held in the village of Pherzawl. With the conclusion of the meeting a new Constitution was formed. H. K. Bawichhuaka of Lakhipur was elected President and Pastor Taisena the Vice President. In spite of the prohibition being imposed on these two persons to enter Manipur as a result of a propaganda directed by Taisena through his agents (Dala of Pherzawl, Khuanga of Parbung and Thanglera of Tinsong), they formed a new Independent Presbyterian Church.

One of the first steps taken under the new Constitution was a complain against Mr. L. H. Thanga, the Assistant Field Director of the Regular Independent Church of Manipur. This complaint was made by Bawichhuaka, the new President and he submitted it to the Sub-Divisional Officer, Tamenglong. It was on these grounds that Bawichhuaka and Taisena had again started interfering with missionary activities in the State. As the Regular Independent Church of Manipur was supported financially by the Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission, members of the Church used to put up their reports to Mr. L. H. Thanga; and members of the newly formed Independent Presbyterian Church gave their reports to Taisena who issued orders from 1943 upto 1945.

L. H. Thanga went on pension from December 25th, 1945, and in his place Taisena took charge of the Mission. But when he came to power he supported only his party leaving the workers of the Regular Independent Church of Manipur uncared. Although this Church had continued with all its hardships, they generously donated war funds in the name of their Secretary, Khuppu and the Chairman Thangkung.

When the abovementioned Constitution was formed, members of the Regular Independent Church of Manipur were unwilling to accept Bawichhuaka and Taisena as their heads. But as they were helpless they simply held a Standing Committee meeting at Parbung on 23rd February 1946, and decided to join the North East India General Mission; and on 26th of the month they made an agreement with Lalthanliana, Head Worker, in-charge of the Field and collectively joined the Mission.

Upto March 1946, the Constitution of Bawichhuaka and Taisena was still in existence; but Mr. Thanherha Chairman and Mr. Khuppu Secretary of the Regular Independent Church of Manipur stated that such a Constitution would only cause trouble and rivalry among the Mission workers and therefore, they requested the Political Agent of Manipur to ban the same and the leaders warned.

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2. See vide Memo No. 1913/Hill, dated 10th December 1938, sig., P.M.S.D.
3. Letter from J. Morris Forbes, Acting Treasurer, A.B.F.M.S., Assam Mission to Mr. Sharpe, President, M.S.D., dated 21st November 1942.
4. Letter from Mrs. Ella Rostad to the Assistant to the President, M.S.D., dated Sat Tal Estate, P.O. Bhim Tal, U.P., 31st March 1943.
5. Letter from Mrs. Ella Rostad, Treasurer to E. F. Lydall, President, M.S.D., dated Sat Tal Estate, P.O. Bhim Tal, U.P., 6th March 1944.
6. Letter from Mrs. Ella Rostad to the President of the Manipur State Darbar, dated Agra 26th September 1944.
7. See Memo No. 3590/Hill from the President, M.S.D. (Hill) to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Imphal 30th January 1945.
8. See Memo No. 1112 G.A./280-14, from C. Gimson, Political Agent of

Manipur to P. F. Adams, Secretary to the Governor of Assam, dated Imphal, 4th May 1945.

9. Letter No. SM/58/45/3-G.S.; from P. F. Adams, Secretary to the Governor of Assam to the Political Agent of Manipur, dated Shillong 16th June 1945.

10. Letter from Pastor Lalthanliana (Head Worker, In-Charge of Field) and H. L. Sela (Field Treasurer) to the President, M.S.D., dated Patpuihmun Vangai Range, Mission Headquarters, P.O. Lakhipur, Cachar District, Assam, 5th December 1945.

11. See Memo No. 8223/G.A./141/A from C. Gimson, Political Agent of Manipur to the President, M.S.D., dated Imphal 11th December 1945.

12. Letter from H. H. Coleman, General Secretary, North East India General Mission Inc., to F. F. Pearson, President, Manipur State Darbar, dated Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., 19th March 1946.

TWENTY-EIGHT

Constitutional Reforms in Manipur and Its Impact on the Christians

By January 1947, the Rostads came back to Manipur; but still the members of the Manipur State Darbar did not wish them to stay in Imphal, because they were keenly opposed to the presence of Christian missionaries in the valley of Manipur. Accordingly, Mr. Gimson instructed the Rostads to arrange for temporary *bashas* at Churachandpur until their permanent accommodation was ready.[1]

The North East India General Mission had no land of their own in the Churachandpur area. Even the draft-lease which had been processed during the stay of Dr. Crozier at Churachandpur could not be put into effect. Although the Political Agent was in favour of the Rostads to receive back in Manipur, he could not trace any records about the possession of a piece of land at Churachandpur by the Mission. As their buildings were situated on the State land for which rent was paid, the Political Agent had nothing but to bar the Mission from resettling at Churachandpur.[2]

The Rostads came upto Imphal during February and they had a personal interview with the President of the Darbar requesting for a removal of the Mission compound to a more suitable place. They pointed out a place at the foot of the hill, but Mr. Pearson stated that it was still under a dispute. Thereafter the Local Committee of the Mission went over the situation and decided that it would be best for the Mission to remain at Churachandpur since they had already spent more than Rs. 6,000 in the year 1946-47 for the building constructions.

After the establishment of a Junior High School the Mission now felt an urgent need of some additional space. Under a special arrangement the Mission purchased the

State Rest House which was used as a temporary make-shift of a hostel for the girl students. Although the Rest House was outside of the Mission compound, they wished to make all necessary repairs in the cold season of 1947, so as to make it a perfect quarter for one or two of the Mission workers. Paul Rostad expressed his desire to purchase this stretch of land covering the Rest House for other Mission workers to live in.

Some historical changes took place in Manipur during the middle of the 1940s, which no doubt affected greatly the Christian community in the State. During the end of His Highness Maharaja Churachand Singh's reign the second world war broke out in 1938. He was then old and felt the approach of death, and hence he decided to spend his last days at Nabadwip. In the month of September 1941, he abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Bodh Chandra Singh and left for Nabadwip. He died on 6th November of the year and was succeeded by his son.[3] In the next year Manipur was bombarded by the Japanese, but on expulsion of the invading army from the State, the Viceroy of India sent messages of congratulations to the Maharaja. During his reign the British left Manipur, and thus the 56 years of British occupation of Manipur came to an end. It was for the first time in India that Adult Franchise was introduced in Manipur in 1947.[4] The main historical events and the constitutional changes of Manipur which had for the first time drawn attention toward the educated hill people of the State were briefly as follows.

On 13th August 1946, the General Secretary of the Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha submitted a copy of Resolution No. 3 of the Working Committee of the Mahasabha, requesting the Maharaja of Manipur to make a royal declaration in favour of the above Resolution. Some of the important points discussed in the Resolution were that – great constitutional changes were taking place in India as a whole and internally in the States. The conception of a combination of internal autocratic and feudal structure in the States, with a democratic Constituent Assembly or a Feudal Union at the Centre was not possible at all. The Cabinet Delegation had also made the following statement *inter alia.*

> It will also strengthen the position of the States during the formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their States by means of representative institutions.[5]

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Prince endorsed the above statement of the British Cabinet Mission and declared among other things:

> The Standing Committee wish to emphasise the necessity for the States, which have not done so, to declare immediately their decision to follow the lines of internal reforms laid down in the declaration made by the Chancellor at the last session of the Chamber of Princes and to take necessary steps to implement that decision within 12 months.[6]

A close and constant contact with public opinion was the only solution for the unsatisfactory state of things in Manipur during the existing Administration. The Mahasabha also requested the Maharaja of Manipur to make an immediate declaration for an early establishment of a Responsible Government in Manipur, and for setting up a Constitution-Making-Machinery with leaders of public opinion. The President of the Mahasabha further requested His Highness to install an Interim Government during the formulative period.[7]

The Manipur State Darbar noted the feeling of the public, and they thus requested their President to discuss the whole question of constitutional reform in Manipur with His Highness. Although the Maharaja wanted to observe the forthcoming constitutional changes in other Indian States, he declared his approval of the Mahasabha's Resolution No. 3 on 23rd November 1946. The Political Agent was still in power and he conferred the Maharaja of Manipur an official permission to make the proclamation. On 12th December of the year the Maharaja issued an order to form a Constitution-Making Committee consisting of representatives from the hills and the valley, official and non-official both. The Constitution had to provide for an amalgamation of the tribal areas of Manipur with the State Government and the establishment of a Local-Self Government in the State. The following were the number of members approved by the Maharaja of Manipur:

3 members nominated by the President of the Darbar, including the President himself as the Chairman of the Committee;

1 member deputed by the Chairman of the Chief Court from the Judicial Department;

1 member nominated by His Highness from the Palace;

1 representative deputed by each of the five Tahsil Circles;

1 representative deputed by each of the areas, namely - Ukhrul, Mao, Tamenglong, Churachandpur and the south east area.[8]

During the nomination of the members for the Constitution-Making Committee one Mr. Phanitphang, an Evangelist of the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi, requested for an approval of the missionary-in-charge (John S. Anderson) and to forward to His Highness for nomination as one of the members to represent the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur.[9] His application had not been favoured by the Maharaja. In the last week of February 1947, nomination was completed except the one representative from Jiribam. The names of the candidates for the Constitution-Making Committee were as follows:

A - Valley

3 from the Darbar

1. President, Manipur State Darbar (Chairman of the Committee)
2. S. Somorendra Singh, B. A
3. Md. Quazi Walli Ulla, B. A.

1 from the Chief Court

1. L. M. Ibungohal Singh, B. A., B. L.

1 from the Palace Office

1. Asangbam Ibotombi Singh (alias Minaketan), B.A.

5 from the public

1. Ningthoujam Leiren Singh Doctor (Imphal East)
2. S. Krishnamohan Singh, M.A., B.L. (Imphal West)
3. Laishram Jugeswar Singh (Thoubal Tahsil)
4. Irom Mera Jatra Singh (Mayang Imphal Tahsil)
5. Dwijamani Sarma, M.A. (Bishenpur Tahsil)

B - Hill

5 from the Hill

1. Mr. A. Daiho
2. Mr. Thangkhopao
3. Mr. M. K. Shimray
4. Mr. Tiankham
5. Mr. Teba Kilong

Mr. Pearson, the President of the Darbar requested His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur to address the inaugural meeting of the Constitution-Making Committee in the Palace Darbar Hall on 10th March 1947. The following were the speeches made by the Maharaja:

My beloved people,

A Constitution-Making Body is now formed of two Darbar Members, one Chief Court Judge, one non-official Nominee, five Representatives of the valley, five Representatives of the Hill and one Representative of Jiribam under the chair of the Darbar President who is non-Ex-Officio, to submit to me a Draft-Constitution for governance of the State of tomorrow through the full State Darbar to take its final shape at my hands and to have the Paramountcy's approval.

The Draft-Constitution is intended to have for its basis such democratic principles as will in no way prejudice our Past in its main aspects and will, on the other hand, bridge the present back to it to produce a resultant peaceful future.

It continuation of his speech Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh also made the following remarks:-

Learned Representatives of my beloved People and Government,

My people will not be denied responsible government to the most possible extent, when Time so permits, with the Representative of this Ruling Family at the Head. But, for the present they will be given as much share in the government as will enable them to acquaint themselves with the art of Politics and management of State Affairs and be trained on and on towards the attainment of the end in view.

Not long before the completion of the Draft-Constitution of Manipur, His Excellency the Governor of Assam entered into some points of agreement with the Manipur State Darbar on 1st July 1947. The agreement was signed by four members of the Darbar, viz., Priya Brata Singh, Somorendra Singh, Chaoba Singh and Md. Quazi Walli Ulla. The following were the main points of agreement:

1. The Manipur State would forthwith declare that it joined the Constituent Assembly (Hindusthan) and that Mr. Guha would be accepted forthwith as the representative of the State as it was not practicable to have a separate representative for the State. Mr. Guha would be assisted by

advisors appointed by His Highness-in-Council representing both the Hill and Valley areas.

2. There ought to be the closest relationship on a reciprocal basis between Manipur and Assam and the Indian Union.

3. Assistance both in external defence and in internal security by the Union Government would be necessary and that the Assam Rifles would be retained in Manipur State.

4. Reciprocal arrangements based on similar arrangements with other Indian States would be entered into with regard to the Mao-Tamu Road.

5. The Union Government would retain the existing Post and Telegraph facilities, and also continue the supply of controlled commodities, and that no discriminatory measures would be taken in regard to the export and import of goods. The existing arrangements regarding Extradition, Currency, and exemption from Provincial taxation on goods passing through the Province of Assam in transit to Manipur would continue.

6. The Union Government would appoint an Officer to be stationed in Manipur to represent that Government in these matters.

7. There would be the minimum of interference in the internal affairs of the State.

8. The Union Government would retain their Treasury and continue the existing facilities.

9. The retrocession of the British Reserve would be expedited, but that until alternative arrangements were made the Cantonment Area, the Residency and Political Agent's Office Compounds and the area known as Babupara, would remain under the control of the Union Government.

10. It was desirable that an Interim Council be formed without delay, and that the members would be appointed under the new *Administration Rules* and would comprise the existing President of the Manipur State Darbar as Chief Minister, the two senior Manipuri Members of the existings Darbar, the Muslim Member, two members of the public to be elected by the same system as was used for the elections

to the Constitution-Making Committee, and one Hill representative to be nominated under the new rules.

11. The new Constitution would be inaugurated within a period of one year.

12. The question of the future payment of the Kabaw Valley compensation would be taken up with the Union.[10]

On July 2nd, 1947, the Maharaja of Manipur-in-Council also signed another Agreement with His Excellency the Governor of Assam. The Maharaja agreed that the *Administration Rules* would be introduced in Manipur on July 1st, 1947, and allied measures including the *Appointment Board Rules*, the *State Courts Act* and the *State Account Rules* would also continue in force after August 15th, 1947, or such date as Paramountcy might lapse and would not be the subject of amendment except by His Highness-in-Council, who would inform His Excellency the Governor of such amendment. The Maharaja further agreed that whatever the terms 'Agent to the Crown Representative' and 'Political Agent' were used in the Instructions, the terms 'Agent to the Government of the Indian Union' and 'Union Agent' would be substituted. In addition, His Highness-in-Council agreed to accept any advice tendered by His Excellency the Governor of Assam as Agent to the Government of the Indian Union in any matter concerning the State, it being understood that there would be the minimum of interference in the internal affairs of the State. The introduction of constitutional Government would be expedited and that His Highness-in-Council would submit proposals in this regard as early as possible to His Excellency the Agent to the Union Government for his advice.

His Highness-in-Council also agreed to accept an Officer appointed by the Union Government and residing in the State to act as agent to His Excellency in the exercise of functions vested in His Excellency by the abovementioned Agreement; further, whatever facilities were required by this Officer and by whatever troops might be stationed in the State, they would by mutual agreement be provided.

The Officer of the Union Government stationed in the State might call for any records connected with a matter

concerning a member of the hill tribes at his discretion and he could issue such advice as seemed necessary. Further that, facilities would be given for the Union Officer to tour in the State and that no orders could be issued under Section 77 or 78 of the *Hill Regulation* without the prior advice of the Union Agent. But in the application of the power vested in him under this Section, the Union Agent would certainly avoid interference in the day to day administration of the hills.

Lastly, the Maharaja of Manipur agreed that the *Hill Regulation* would be introduced simultaneously with the *State Courts Act* and that this would be done before the 15th of August 1947.[11]

On 15th August 1947, India became free and the paramountcy of the British Crown over the Indian Native States also came to an end. After 56 years, the Maharaja of Manipur again got full control over the administration of Manipur. But the time of monarchical despotism was long out. After the war the currents of Indian political movements started flowing in Manipur.[12]

Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh had a house in Shillong where he preferred to stay during the time of crisis for himself and for his State than as the Governor's guest at Raj Bhavan. In a private meeting with the Governor the Maharaja placed himself without reserve in the Governor's hands to do as he considered best in the interests of India, Manipur and the Ruler.[13] On 21st September 1949, Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh put his royal signature on the Merger Agreement with Shri Prakasha, the Governor of Assam as witness and since then Manipur became a part of the Indian Union.

The ceremony of Integration of Manipur State was performed on 15th October 1949, and Major-General Rawal Amar Singh, the newly appointed Chief Commissioner took the salute presented to him. The Manipur State Council and the Assembly were later declared dissolved with effect from the 15th October 1949, and the Chief Commissioner took over the charge of the administration of Manipur as a Province with effect from that date.

The second world war and the change of Government in the Manipur State affected the Christians of the hill areas in

a great measure. Both the Christians and the non-Christians suffered great loss under the pressure of the war. Though there was no religious persecution, the Christians' outlook in regard to the war was quite different from those of the non-Christians. The Hindu people in the valley were satisfied with the immediate results caused by the war and they took things as they came; while the Christians gradually came to realize how the prophecies written in the Bible were being fulfilled. Their faith had increased and their belief in the Bible was more firmly established.

With the attainment of freedom, the Government of Manipur was also readically changing. The hill people were beginning to feel this new political consciousness. Independence had naturally broken the age-old custom of forced labour upon the hill people, and the non-Christians who previously tried to force their ancient pagan customs to the Christians became more tolerant. The social barriers between the hills and plains people were no more discussed and the orthodox notion of backwardness and low class toward the hill people was gradually being given up. The fundamental ideas of Christianity were now easily accepted by the Hindus of the valley and thus the two groups of hills and plains people so widely separated before the outbreak of the war, were brought much closer day by day.[14]

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2. See Memo No. 143 - G.A., from C. Gimson, P. A. in Manipur to the President, M.S.D. (Hill), dated Imphal 4th April 1946.
3. Rf. to *Memoranda on the Indian States, p. 6.*
4. Rajkumar Snahal Singh, *Glimpse of Manipur*, pp. 42-43.
5. Cited in Resolution No. 3 of the Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha, held on 2nd August 1946.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *op. cit.*
8. See Order No. 30 P of 12th December 1946, sig., Bodh Chandra Singh, Maharaja of Manipur, Memo No. 940-P, II-I.
9. Letter from John S. Anderson, Missionary-in-Charge, American Baptist Mission, Kangpokpi to the President, M.S.D., dated 2nd February 1947.

10. (SECRET) Points of Agreement Reached in Discussion Between His Excellency the Governor of Assam and the Manipur State Darbar, 1st July 1947, sig., Priya Brata Singh, et.al., A.G.P. (G.S. (C)), No. 3-50-5-7-1947.
11. (SECRET) Agreement Between His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur and His Excellency the Governor of Assam, 2nd July 1947, sig., Bodh Chandra Singh, His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur-in-Council, sig., Francis F. Pearson et. al.
12. See *History of the Manipur Police*, A Police Centenary, p. 25.
13. Nari Rustomji, *Enchanted Frontiers*, op. cit., p. 109.
14. Rf. to T. Luikham, *A Short History of the Manipur Baptist Christian Golden Jubilee*, op. cit., p. 46.

TWENTY-NİNE

The Last Verdict of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur

After the lease of the land at the Kangpokpi Mission compound was extended for a further period of 5 years, Rev. Earl E. Brock again submitted another application to the Political Agent of Manipur on 18th April 1947, requesting for an extension of the lease for the Mission compound at Ukhrul. The Political Agent however was of opinion that the Mission would be wiser to wait until the future Government of the Manipur State became more clear before Mr. Brock raised the question of a long lease up at Ukhrul again. It was already evident that the Maharaja of Manipur did not seem favourably inclined towards the Mission - at least when he disagreed to sanction a long lease of the land at Kangpokpi recently. The Political Agent further considered that when the new Constitution of the State came into force the hill people themselves would have more say in the matter. He therefore instructed Mr. Brock to wait for some time to which the missionary agreed.[1]

In October of the year, Rev. Paul and Ella Rostad also requested the Chief Minister of Manipur for a permission of a new lease of their Mission compound located at Churachandpur for another period of 25 years. This matter was referred back to the Manipur State Council who could decide after proper consideration. In the light of a report submitted by the Hill Minister of Manipur who made a comment towards the grant of the lease, the following resolution was approved by the Manipur State Council on 7th January 1948:

> The old Mission compound may be leased for 5 years with effect from 1st January, 1948, on the same terms as in the case of Kangpokpi Mission. As no record about any former lease is traceable, Hill Minister will prepare a new lease.[2]

Mr. R. Khathing, the Hill Minister submitted the draft-lease and other connected papers to the Manipur State Council on 6th April 1948, for perusal and sanction. The lease approved of by the Council on 7th May, was read as follows:

LEASE

Whereas Rev. Paul Rostad, missionary-in-charge now residing at Churachandpur, has applied to grant a new lease for the North East India General Mission compound located at Churachandpur, the Manipur State Council has granted a lease for 5 (five) years, vide Council Resolution No. 1, dated 7th January, 1948, Major R. Khathing, Minister in-charge Hill Administration, hereby declares that, I have, on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur granted to the North East India General Mission the land description of which is given below, a lease for 5 (five) years. The condition of the settlement and the lease are as follows:-

1. The lease shall be current for a period of 5 years, that is from 1st January, 1948 to 31st December, 1953.

2. An annual rent of Rs. 100 only shall be paid every year for the use and occupancy of the lands.

3. The Mission shall not have the right to sell or alienate the land in any way nor to use the land for any purpose other than those immediately connected with the Mission.

4. If any of the above conditions are contravened the lease may be cancelled and the land resumed by the State.

5. A renewal of the lease may be granted on the expiry of the abovementioned period on such conditions as may be fixed by His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur in Council, provided the said Mission occupied the land solely for the purpose of the said North East India General Mission.

6. That in case of non-renewal of this lease by the wish of the State or of His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur in Council and provided that such non-renewal is due to no default on conduct of the Mission due compensation may be made to the Mission, for the permanent improvement and buildings on the ground covered by this lease, valuation of the same to be determined by at least two representatives of the Mission together with two representatives of the State, the valuation to be subject to the Manipur State Council's approval.

7. All the recognised parts at present passing through the demarcated area shall be opened to traffic of all kinds as in the past and all the hill men and the Manipuris shall have the 'Right of Way' over such paths.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND

8. As per boundary stones already erected.

During the war missionary activities in Manipur were

completely at a standstill and most of the white missionaries were out of station. The Mission compound at the Kangpokpi station was not properly looked after due to absence of a regular missionary and a medical doctor. State officials of Manipur were more or less having deep concern to meet the public demands of new constitutional reforms in the country. Amidst the political chaos of hunger-strikes, satyagrahas and lock-outs of the public, the newly created Manipur State Council could not spare its time to discuss problems arising out of the Christian community who nonetheless showed grievances in respect of the State's partial outlook.

One of the most immediate demands of the Manipur Christians was the re-opening of the Mission Leper Colony at Kangpokpi. Yet it had to be put off due to the impending election and the Christians too felt it. The American Baptist Mission expected to open the Leper Colony before the end of 1948. Repairs to the old buildings of the Colony were however started early in May 1948, and it was thought possible to admit patients by the middle of June next, Mr. Frank F. Curry, M.D., of the American Baptist Mission at Jorhat wrote a letter to the Mission to Lepers stating the work of the Kangpokpi Leper Colony and he made estimates of the initial cost. The Mission Board had already sanctioned Rs. 3,000 toward the repair of the Colony and they were planning to establish eventually a general medical work in Manipur. The Chief Minister of Manipur, Maharaj Kumar Priya Brata Singh was extremely busy with the management of the Assembly election procedure; but Dr. Curry desired to put before the Chief Minister the same series of estimates that he made to the Mission to Lepers. Although this was actually a re-opening of the Leper Colony, it meant for all practical purposes a new beginning from the ground up as it were.

Estimates

1. It covered repairing to the old buildings which were already under way. Dr. Curry made an estimate of Rs. 5,000 which would only cover bare necessities.

2. It covered patient and medical supplies exclusive of medicines. Things like--blankets, pans, dishes, garden-tools, laboratory supplies, surgical instruments, syringes,

needles, lights etc., were included under this. Dr. Curry made an estimate of Rs. 6,000 which he presumed to be a little low.

3. It covered food costs for which Dr. Curry estimated Rs. 10,000 for one year. It was hoped that after the first year the patients might be able to raise a large share of their own food. Dr. Curry frankly admitted that an adequate amount of diet was of extreme importance in the treatment of leprosy.

4. This item covered fuel costs which was estimated at Rs. 1,000, but the amount might be reduced considerably when the patients could get most of their fuel from the Mission compound.

5. This item covered the costs of medicines, which was estimated at Rs. 5,000. Dr. Curry expected to obtain a supply of the new Sulfone drugs from the Mission to Lepers. These were the new synthetic drugs from America which were offering a high percentage of cure in leprosy, and these drugs were only available in India through the Mission to Lepers.

6. This last item covered labour and personnel. Dr. Curry was willing to employ a nurse and a compounder who would be in-charge of the Colony during his absence. He also included in this estimate a small sum for payment to patients who worked for a certain specified time for the Colony. The total costs was estimated at Rs. 2,000.

Thus the amount necessary for an initial expense of one year was estimated up to a total of Rs. 29,000. The Colony could accommodate a capacity of 40 petients but it was hoped that the Mission would be able to expand this to handle the need in Manipur. They also expressed that plains lepers too could be accepted so that the entire leprosy work of Manipur could eventually be centralized.

Dr. Curry requested the Mission to Lepers to study and make suggestions on his estimates; also he approached the Chief Minister of Manipur to give comments. One of the reasons why Dr. Curry wrote to the Chief Minister of Manipur was that the Mission was at least expecting a definite share of the financial burden by the Manipur State so that the Colony might be opened in the near future. Dr. Curry's own services in supervision and medical care of the colony would

be given by the Mission Board, but the running expenses of the Colony would largely have to be met through the Mission to Lepers and the Manipur Government.

Dr. Curry was planning to come to Kangpokpi during the month of September 1948, by which time he expected to open the Leprosy Hospital. For some time his headquarters would remain at Jorhat with frequent trips to Kangpokpi to get the work started. By June 1948, he was studying the Manipuri language in the hope that he would be able to talk to the Manipuris. But he felt the disadvantages in learning the language by staying so far away from the State.[3]

The Chief Minister of Manipur placed Dr. Curry's request before the Manipur State Council on 22nd June 1948, for consideration. The Council expressed their views that they were also worried with the increase of the lepers in the State and they were thinking of a proper treatment of this disease. On 2nd July 1948, the Manipur State council adopted the following resolution:-

> The Council welcome the re-opening of the Mission Leper Colony at Kangpokpi by the American Baptist Mission. Chief Minister will correspond with Mr. F.F. Curry for further details.[4]

Dr. Curry received a reply from the Mission to Lepers in which they expressed the estimates to be a little high; but they admitted that the first year costs would be higher than the maintenance costs. The Mission to Lepers wrote to the London Headquarters requesting that Dr. Curry should be given Rs. 6,000 which was the estimate he made for the initial costs of equipments etc. Under instructions from the Mission to Lepers, Dr. Curry along with two friends, one a Tangkhul and another a Manipuri went over the previous estimates trying to reduce if possible. They actually reduced the food estimate from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 8,000, and cancelled the fuel estimate as an unnecessary item.

Because of the inadequate facilities for segregation of sexes during the time and because facilities were not yet arranged for the care of the untainted children of the leper parents, the Colony was restricted for male patients only. That was far from satisfactory, but it was a situation that would have to be rectified as soon as possible. These Leper Homes were usually organised so that all of the works were

done by the patients themselves. In his case, Dr. Curry had one Compounder whom he intended to use as a sort of Assistant Superintendent and Medical Director. There was quite a bit of land in the Leper compound at Kangpokpi that was suitable for rice cultivation and thus the patients were instructed to eventually grow most of their own rice. In addition, the patients were also encouraged to have individual vegetable gardens.

Before the re-opening of the Leper Colony, Dr. Curry wanted to be assured of his initial equipments and a guarantee that the patients would have adequate food and medicines for proper care and treatment. These two factors depended largely on the Mission to lepers and the Manipur Government. Yet the division of a financial responsibility between the two was something of a problem. The Mission to Lepers was an entirely charitable Christian Organisation devoted to the task of caring for the lepers all over the world. It was on this ground that Dr. Curry requested the Government of Manipur to take over the responsibility for the food and medicine costs for the patients. Rs. 13,000 seemed a fairly large amount for the first year; but it was likely to diminish in due course as the patients were to take over the production of their own food. Dr. Curry informed the Chief Minister of Manipur that he would be in Manipur during September and he hoped to discuss on the question of the entire Mission medical programme in the State.[5]

The Manipur State Council again reconsidered the Chief Minister's report regarding the re-opening of the Mission Leper Colony at Kangpokpi. The Council decided that the Hill Minister of Manipur should first ascertain the approximate number of lepers who were willing to avail themselves of the Kangpokpi Asylum.[6] On the same resolution the Maharaja of Manipur made a comment which had to delay matters and as if the Leper Colony had never been in existence before in Manipur. In his Memo of the 28th September 1948, Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh made an ignorant remark, "Please let me know what Mission Leper Colony means".

Before a final settlement of the Kangpokpi Leper Colony was effected, the Hill Minister of Manipur forwarded an

application filed by Mr. T. Luikham regarding the American Baptist Mission station at Ukhrul. Mr. Luikham requested the State authorities to release the old Mission land at Ukhrul for a period of ten years on payment of an annual rent of Rs. 80 with effect from 1st January 1949, on the terms and conditions put up by the Hill Minister. But the Maharaja of Manipur was of opinion that popular view of the local hill-men should first be invited.[7]

With all the possible financial implications in view, the Manipur State Council as well as the Maharaja firmly expressed by the first week of January 1949, that the re-opening of the Mission Leper Colony at Kangpokpi should be delayed for some time; but regarding the renewal of lease for the Mission station at Ukhrul, the Manipur State Council willingly approved in their Resolution No. 2 of 9th February 1949. Yet the Maharaja of Manipur gave his final verdict on the Ukhrul Mission station:

> The inhabitants can open a Mission. But foreign missionaries must not be allowed to work there.[8]

The above verdict applied to all white foreign missionaries working in Manipur and the State officials too strengthened the Maharaja's comment. In the rapid political transformations of Manipur the missionaries felt disappointed when most of their requests for the spiritual upliftment of the Christians were flatly denied by the newly appointed political heads who were mostly Manipuris. Another disadvantage to the Christians was that, the constitutional heads of Manipur were of a very temporary period as the Government machinery was of an interim nature. Although there was a small mention in the *Manipur State Constitution Act of 1947* on a guarantee to all people of justice, social, economic and political; an equality of status, of opportunity and before the law; and of freedom of thought, expression of belief, faith and worship etc., it only applied to the local people and hence the white European missionaries along with their fellow State officials had to transfer their rights and moral obligations to the people of this soil. Just after the event of this Transfer the history of the Christian missionaries also came to an abrupt conclusion and it took a different shape and colour when the local hill-men came forward to take full responsibility. The

unfinished plans of the white missionaries were left to the local hill-men, but the ever growing difficulties in their execution were clearly evident and admitted by the disciples. Moments of love, sacrifice and dedication of the Christian crusaders were long forgotten, but the fruits of their perilous endeavours in the midst of quarrels and spiritual entanglements were felt by a number of Christians in the country.

REFERENCES

1. Confidential Letter No. 3/52, from G.P. Stewart, P.A., in Manipur to Mr. Earl E. Brock, dated Imphal 6th May 1947.
2. See Manipur State Council Resolution No. 1 of 7th January 1948.
3. Letter from Frank F. Curry, M.D., American Baptist Mission, Jorhat, Assam to Captain Priya Brata Singh, Chief Minister, Manipur State, dated 15th June 1948.
4. See Manipur State Council Resolution No. 1 of 2nd July 1948.
5. Letter from Frank F. Curry to the Chief Minister of Manipur, dated Jorhat 2nd August 1948.
6. See Manipur State Council Resolution No. 11 of 16th September 1948.
7. See His Highness' Comment under Memo No. 799 - P. I-I of 27th October 1948.
8. See His Highness' Comment vide Memo No. 2204 P. I-I, dated 22nd April 1949.

Epilogue

With Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh's comment of 22nd April 1949, the onward journey of the Christian missionaries were put to a great halt. They were no more invited in the social commitments even in the tribal areas of their stipulated boundaries. Unlike those days when the first missionary (Pettigrew) had free mixing with his fellow British officials, the later European missionaries were segregated and totally estranged from the political heads either by a different outlook on their morality or by their lack of efficiency in the local dialects of the Manipuri tribes. Another hindrance toward the execution of missionary activities in Manipur was the frequent change of the missionaries-in-charge.

By June 1949, the Manipur State Council granted a resident permission on temporary ground to the families of Dr. Frank F. Curry and Rev. John S. Anderson. But these temporary permits were subject to withdrawal on three months' notice.[1] As the lease for the property held by the American Baptist Mission at Kangpokpi was about to expire by the end of December 1949, Rev. Anderson requested the Chief Commissioner of Manipur to renew the lease on the same terms as before for the maximum period allowed. However, the Chief Commissioner came to realise of this long pending correspondence only in the month of November 1950, as the papers were apparently got stuck up somewhere.[2] In January next, the Assistant Secretary to the Government of Manipur (Development Department) informed Rev. Anderson at Kangpokpi that the Chief Commissioner of Manipur had sanctioned the renewal of the lease for a further period of five years, i.e., from 1st April 1950 to 31st March 1955, on the condition that the annual revenue would be Rs. 150 instead of Rs. 100.[3]

With the inauguration of the Indian Constitution from 26th January 1950, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and all the States including Manipur exercised

from this day the powers and functions of Government in accordance with the provisions of the *Constitution of India*. The long tradition of the Manipuri Maharajas' autocratic attitude toward the social and political involvements also came to an end. Under the enforcement of the 'Fundamental Rights' guaranteed to all citizens of India, both the tribals and the Hindu Manipuris were now opened to a freedom of religion subject to public order, morality and health. All persons were equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propoagate religion.

REFERENCES

1. See Manipur State Council Resolution No. 22 of 8th June 1949.
2. Note by Chief Commissioner of Manipur, dated 23rd November 1950.
3. Letter No. Hill - 3/50/14 from the Assistant Secretary to the Government of Manipur (Development Department) to Rev. John S. Anderson, Missionary-in-Charge, Kangpokpi, dated 11th January 1951.

APPENDIX

(1)

MEMORANDA A., B, AND C, *REVISED NOVEMBER 1925*, REGARDING THE ADMISSION INTO INDIA OF ALIENS DESIRING TO UNDERTAKE MISSIONARY, EDUCATIONAL OR OTHER PHILANTHROPIC WORK IN INDIA.

MEMORANDUM A.

1. Appreciating to the full the value of the work done in the past by missionary and other philanthropic societies and organisations, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India cordially welcome their co-operation in the future in furthering the moral and material well-being of the people of India.

2. But the State, while recognising the obligations of Christian civilisation, is obliged to take adequate measures for maintaining public security; and experience has shown that certain foreign societies and individuals have not been able to prevent their national instincts from prejudicing that security, and that some supervision is necessary.

3. The following provisions apply only to Christian societies, organisations and individuals not in common with the Church of Rome, the Orthodox Church, or other Oriental Churches.

4. Subject to the provisions of this Memorandum, His Majesty's Government will place no restrictions on recognised societies or organisations in Europe, Canada and the United States of America, and will ordinarily recognise all societies which are recommended to them by the Conference of Missionary Societies in the United Kingdom, and by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on the following conditions:

(i) As regards recognised societies, His Majesty's Government will deal only with the abovementioned Confer-

ences; the Government of India will deal only with the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.

(ii) The Conferences will recommend for recognition societies in Europe, and in Canada and the United States of America respectively, whose good faith and responsibility they will guarantee.

(iii) Before recommending any non-British Society the Conference concerned will obtain from it a declaration recognising that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted Government, and that, while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it is its desire and purpose that its influence, insofar as it may be properly exerted in such matters, should be so exerted in loyal cooperation with the Government of the country concerned, and that it will only employ agents who will work in this spirit. Note.- Before recommending the recognition of a foreign missionary society, the work of which, owing to circumstances arising out of the war, has been taken over for the time being by a British, American, or other missionary society, the Conference will also satisfy itself, after communication with the National Christian Council, that the society applying for recognition has arrived at a suitable understanding with the society temporarily carrying on its work and with the Indian Christian community concerned.

(iv) (a) The Conferences will hold non-British "recognised" societies responsible for carrying out the provisions of clause (iii).

(b) Any "recognised" society desiring to send to any part of India missionaries or employees who are not of pure British or American birth will submit to the Conference concerned their names and full particulars, and the Conference will, if satisfied, give the applicant the necessary credentials establishing his identity. If the person in question has already served in India, the Conference will communicate with the National Christian Council, who will arrange direct with the Government of India.

(c) The Conference will also communicate with the National Christian Council in cases in which they are not satisfied that a society, although "recognised", of capable of discharging its responsibility under clause (iii).

(d) Every missionary or employee who is not a British subject will furnish himself with a document signed or countersigned by an official of the Conference concerned duly authorised in that behalf.

(v) The Conference of North America will, in regard to missionary societies or persons in the United States, correspond with the British Passport Control Officer, New York, not with His Majesty's Government direct, and will furnish him with the names and particulars of the societies which it recommends for recognition, and of the persons to whom it has given credentials. It will be open to the Passport Control Officer to make any further enquiries which he may think desirable. In regard to Canadian Missionary Societies or persons in Canada, the Conference will correspond with the Dominion Government.

(vi) In case any question arises between His Majesty's Government and any recognised society or member of such society, His Majesty's Government will address the Conference, who will use their good offices to regulate the affair, and if agreement cannot be arrived at, it will be open to His Majesty's Government to withdraw any facilities, grants etc., which the society may enjoy, and in the last resort to deport the individual, and to remove the society from the list.

5. Members of any society or organisation not recognised by His Majesty's Government must obtain a permit, as in accordance with Memorandum C, and will be subject to the restrictions therein laid down for such time as His Majesty's Government think fit.

6. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to inspect the schools etc., of any recognised or other society, and satisfy themselves that the spirit is satisfactory.

7. Nothing in this Memorandum shall exempt foreign recognised societies or their members or employees from the operation of any laws or regulations affecting foreigners in general in India.

MEMORANDUM B

1. Appreciating to the full the value of the work done in the past by missionary and other philanthropic societies and

organisations, His Majesty's Government cordially welcome their co-operation in the future in furthering the moral and material well-being of the peoples of India.

2. But the State, while recognising the obligations of Christian civilisation, is obliged to take adequate measures for maintaining public security; and experience has shown that certain foreign societies and individuals have not been able to prevent their national instincts from prejudicing that security, and that some supervision is necessary.

3. The following provisions apply only to societies, organisations and individuals in communion with the Church of Rome.

4. His Majesty's Government will ordinarily impose no restrictions, subject to the provisions of this Memorandum, on individuals and societies, provided that the societies or organisations are recommended by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and that the individuals are guaranteed by the Superior of the House of the society or organisation in the United Kingdom, on the following conditions:

(i) The Cardinal Archbishop will furnish His Majesty's Government with his recommendations for inclusion in the list of "recognised" societies.

(ii) Before recommending any society or organisation, which desires to maintain missionaries or other employees or members in any part of India, the Cardinal Archbishop will obtain from its Superior-General a declaration recognising that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted Government, and that, while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it is its desire and purpose that, so far as its influence may be properly exerted in such matters, it should be in loyal co-operation with the Government of the country concerned, and that it will only employ agents who will work in this spirit.

(iii) When any recognised society desires to send to any part of India a missionary or other employee or member who is of non-British birth, extraction, or nationality, it will submit his or her name and full particulars to the Superior of the House in the United Kingdom (or if the society has no House in the United Kingdom, to the Superior of the House

of some other society who is willing to represent it); this Superior must himself be a natural born British subject. The Supreme will thereupon make due inquiry, and if able to guarantee the applicant's good faith will give him credentials establishing his identity. All such credentials will be countersigned by an authority duly nominated in that behalf by the Cardinal Archbishop.

(iv) His Majesty's Government may make through their representatives abroad any further inquiries which they may consider necessary for their own satisfaction.

(v) In case any question arises between His Majesty's Government and any recognised society or any member of such society, the Cardinal Archbishop will use his good offices to regulate the affair, and if agreement cannot be arrived at, it will be open to His Majesty's Government to withdraw any grants, facilities etc., which the society may enjoy, and in the last resort to deport the individual and remove the society from the recognised list.

5. Members of any society or organisation which is not recognised by His Majesty's Government, must obtain a permit, in accordance with Memorandum C, and will be subject to the restrictions therein laid down for such time as His Majesty's Government may think fit.

6. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to inspect the schools etc., of any society, whether recognised or not, and satisfy themselves that the spirit is satisfactory.

7. Nothing in this Memorandum shall exempt foreign recognised societies or their members from the operation of any laws or regulations affecting foreigners in general in India.

MEMORANDUM C.

1. Appreciating to the full the value of the work done in the past by missionary and other philanthropic societies and organisations, His Majesty's Government cardinally welcome their co-operation in the future in furthering the moral and material well being of the peoples of India.

2. But the State, while recognising the obligations of Christian civilization, is obliged to take adequate measures

for maintaining public security; and experience has shown that certain foreign societies and individuals have not been able to prevent their national instincts from prejudicing that security, and that some supervision is necessary.

3. His Majesty's Government have decided that, except as may be otherwise provided:-

(i) Every foreigner, whatever his religious belief, who is desirous of engaging in philanthropic, educational or medical work (whether he is a missionary or attached to a religious mission or not, and whether the mission or philanthropic enterprise with which he desires to associate himself is a secular or religious body) will be required to take out a permit authorising him to carry on his vocation. The permit, if granted, will be subject to an undertaking (as set forth below) to co-operate loyally with the Government of the country.

Foreigners already engaged in the vocations mentioned above in India will similarly be required to take out permits in the same terms as a preliminary to the continuance of their activities. Though, however, such persons will be subject to the same conditions as those contemplated in the case of their fellows who have not as yet commenced work, permits will, in such cases, usually be granted as a matter of course, and will ordinarily only be refused in instances in which the applicants are believed to have been guilty of misconduct. Applications should be made to the Government of the country concerned.

(ii) All such permits will be subject to cancellation or modification at the discretion of Government.

(iii) All foreigners desirous of obtaining permits must, if they are resident in a foreign country, submit their applications through the British Embassy or Legation (or, in the case of residents in the United States of America, through the Passport Control Office, New York) to His Majesty's Government, who will deal with them in consultation with the Indian authorities; if they are resident in a British country they must submit their applications through the Government of that country.

(iv) Any foreigner engaging in any of the vocations

mentioned in clause (i), or if already so engaged continuing in it without a permit, will be liable to deportation under the Acts applicable to foreigners in the country concerned.

(v) Any organization which evades the principles regarding permits will be liable to be deprived of all or such part of the subsidies for the purpose of education and any other facilities it enjoys from Government as Government may think fit, and the same principle will apply to the continued employment of persons whose permits have been cancelled.

(vi) British organisations which evade the principle regarding permits will be liable to the same penalties.

4. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to inspect the schools and other institutions maintained by any society or individual, in order to satisfy themselves that the spirit is satisfactory.

Form of Undertaking

I hereby undertake to give all due obedience and respect to the lawfully constituted Government, and, while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, it is my desire and purpose that my influence, insofar as it may be properly exerted in such matters, should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government; and, in particular, if engaged in educational work, I undertake to do all in my power to promote good-will and understanding between the people and the Government of the country, and to make those under my care law-abiding and good citizens.

INDIA OFFICE,

November, 1925.

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